Classical Philology

THE INTERRELATIONS OF THE GREEK DIALECTS

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I

The question of the interrelationship of the Greek dialects has an unceasing attraction, not only to the grammarian, but to every student of Greek history. For it always has held and will continue to hold the first place in any discussion of early Greek tribal relations. It is true that we have gone through a period of destructive criticism as to the validity of linguistic evidence, the nature and even the existence of well-defined dialects. But the total result of the discussions eyoked by such criticism, and the more searching inquiry into the character of living dialects, especially those of France and Germany, has been only to emphasize more strongly the inseparable connection between language and political and economic history. I will not dwell here upon this general proposition, which I have emphasized elsewhere,[1] especially since in the study of the Greek dialects the propriety of combining linguistic and historical data has never been seriously doubted, and, in recent years has been maintained with renewed confidence.[2]

[1] "The Relation of Comparative Grammar to Other Branches of Learning," an address delivered at the St. Louis Congress of Arts and Sciences, September, 1904, and now printed in the proceedings of the same, Vol. III, pp. 32 ff. (see pp. 43 ff.). See also the recent literature cited in *Indog. Forsch.* Anz. XVIII, p. 46, note.

[2] For example, in the excellent articles of Solmsen, especially his "Thessaliotis und Pelasgiotis," *Rhein. Mus.* LVIII (1903), pp. 598 ff.; Meister's *Dorer und Achäer*,

But the traditional data concerning the early relations and movements of the Greek peoples are of such unequal value, such a mixture of genuine tradition and later fiction, and so incomplete withal, that it is essential to view the linguistic evidence as objectively as possible. A necessary preliminary to the impartial study of the dialect relations is, of course, the determination of the distribution of each linguistic phenomenon without regard to any preconceived notion of their grouping. Such studies as Thumb's *Spiritus Asper*, Kretschmer's "Der wandel von τ vor ι in σ," *Kuhn's Zeitschr*. XXX, pp. 565 ff., Solmsen's "Der Übergang von ε in ι vor Vocalen," *Kuhn's Zeitschr*. XXXII, pp. 513 ff., and others, are fundamental. The next step is to observe how these phenomena group themselves. Agreement between dialects in certain phenomena, if not accidental, must be due to their contiguity at some period. It may reflect their position either in the historical period or in one or more prehistoric periods. The greater the number of phenomena in which dialects agree the less likelihood that this agreement is accidental. And if the agreement of certain dialects in a considerable number of phenomena coincides with traditional accounts of the relations of those speaking them, we are entitled to regard the latter as confirmed. Now, in order to realize all the possibilities of grouping and their relative cogency it is almost necessary that the distribution of the various phenomena should be presented in such a way as to be readily surveyed, namely, in tabular form.

For some years I have employed a series of charts of this kind for my own convenience and for purposes of instruction; and my chief excuse for adding another to the existing discussions of the dialect relations is the belief that such a tabular presentation is not a mere device for the assistance of beginners, but can claim scientific value as affording an objective view of the linguistic evidence which it is not easy to gain otherwise.

which must, however, be regarded as a failure in its main thesis (see below, p. 245), Thumb's "Dialektforschung und Stammesgeschichte," *Neue Jahrb.*, 1905, pp. 385 ff. The earlier monograph of Hoffmann, *De mixtis Graecae linguae dialectis*, though often manipulating the evidence in a wholly unconvincing manner, deserved more credit for its suggestiveness than it received from its critics.

But whereas in my original charts the phenomena were arranged
in logical order (vowel changes, consonant changes, case-forms,
etc.) without regard to grouping, I have preferred to present in
this paper a chart of phenomena selected and rearranged so as to
bring out the most significant groupings, leaving for a later time
the exhibition of the other phenomena, the distribution of which
does not fall into such groups, and is, for the most part, in my
opinion, accidental.   Naturally, however, the material given in
this chart is not all of equally certain significance, and I have
included some few things about which I am myself doubtful, but
which it seemed most convenient to present here.   On the other
hand, I have excluded a number of phenomena to which some
scholars have attributed a significance which I cannot find war-
ranted in the actual distribution.   For example, the infinitive in
-εν is often classed as a Doric characteristic, while vice versa,
Hoffmann, *De mixtis graecae linguae dialectis*, pp. 60 ff., claims
it as an "Achaean" element which has survived in some Doric
dialects.   But the distribution of -εν and -ειν, -ην is not such as
to lend any plausibility to either view, and has, I believe, no
more bearing on the grouping of the dialects than that of the
imperative endings -ντω and -ντων.   Yet I recognize that no two
scholars will agree in all details in their judgment of what is sig-
nificant and what is accidental, and claim nothing final for the
selection made.

The following points are to be noted in explanation of the
chart.   The distribution of a given phenomenon is shown by
crosses placed in vertical columns beneath a caption indicating
the phenomenon in question and opposite the names of the dia-
lects in which this appears.   The captions are of widely different
scope; some referring only to the particular form given (e. g.,
τοί), others (e. g., δίδωτι) being examples chosen as a convenient
means of briefly indicating a phenomenon of considerable range,
the precise scope of which is stated, and material quoted where
this seemed called for, in the notes, which are numbered to coin-
cide with the columns of the chart.   I had thought of distinguish-
ing between cases where the absence of a cross is due to the
fact that the form of a dialect is known to be different and where

it may be due simply to lack of evidence, but decided that to carry this out systematically would only obscure the chart, and that this matter was better left to the notes. But a cross within a circle ($\oplus$) is sometimes used as an intimation of some reservation, the nature of which is explained in the notes, e. g., "late," "unusual," "indirectly evidenced," etc.

The dialects represented include all those which are at all adequately known. Omitted are Pamphylian, because of the meagerness of the material, and Achaean, Messenian, Cnidian (as well as those of many of the small islands of the Aegean), Aetolian, Acarnanian, Epirotan, of which we have little or no material which is not late and simply in the Doric or Northwest Greek κοινή. But anything of importance from these dialects is mentioned in the text. Thessalian is subdivided into that of the Pelasgiotis (P.) and that of the Thessaliotis (Th.), for which the terms East and West Thessalian, though not strictly appropriate, are sometimes used in the text for brevity. But the distinction is observed (a cross of reduced size opposite the subdivision is used) only where there is actual evidence that the two differed; that is, a phenomenon is cited simply as Thessalian (the cross then being of the usual size) not only when it is quotable from both, but also when it is quotable from only one division, provided there is no reason as yet to suspect that this is anything but accidental. Ionic is also subdivided into East (E.), Central (C.), and West (W.) or Euboean, though in this chart there is only one occasion to distinguish them. Phocian includes, and, as regards early material, consists mainly of, Delphian, and the forms cited are generally quoted as such. Megarian and Corinthian, of course, include the dialect of the colonies. Argolic is used as the general term for the dialect of Argolis, while Argive has its more specific sense, and forms from the cities of the Acte are generally cited as Epidaurian, etc. The dialects of Cos and Calymna are included under the head of Coan, those of Thera and Melos under Theran. West Greek is employed, as frequently in late years, as the general term to include the Northwest Greek dialects and the Doric, the latter term being used in its narrower and usual historical sense. Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian

are, as usual, called Aeolic, though the last two are so only in part. For the group which is represented in the historical period by Arcadian and Cyprian I have generally been satisfied with Arcado-Cyprian, but one feels the need of a different term when referring to pre-Doric conditions (it is incongruous to speak of an Arcado-Cyprian survival in Argolis or Laconia), and I have been tempted to follow Solmsen in calling the group Achaean (Hoffmann's South Achaean). For I am convinced that this is the proper application of this much-abused term, and the only objection is that it is used by others in such widely different senses.[1]

The results of the chart are not to institute any radically new groupings, but mainly to confirm conclusions, some of which have long been evident, and others clear to many in recent years, but not so universally recognized as to make it superfluous to give them emphasis. The close connection between the Northwest Greek and the Doric dialects was surmised by Ahrens, who pointed out (I, p. 2) that the statement of Strabo (viii. 333) according to which they were Aeolic was unsupported by any other evidence, either traditional or linguistic. This conclusion has been fully confirmed by the additions to the material from the Northwest Greek dialects, at that time meager and mostly late, and has been made increasingly evident by the early Delphian inscriptions found in recent years. It is seen now that a fundamental division of the Greek dialects is that into the West Greek dialects as a whole and the East Greek, or, as Wilamowitz

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[1] Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, and R. Meister, *Dorer und Achäer*, apply the term Achaean to a population which was pre-Doric, but not identical with that whose speech survived in Arcado-Cyprian. But there is no adequate evidence of any such intermediate stratum. Meister's Achaean has all the features which characterize the West Greek dialects as a whole, and its alleged difference consists in the absence of certain peculiarities (not included in the present chart) which belong to some of the Doric dialects and, in part, some which are not Doric, but which Meister now stamps as the real criteria of pure Doric. The distinction between Doric and Achaean elements which he finds in the inscriptions of Laconia, Argolis, etc., resolves itself into a question of κοινή influence. This is the view which forced itself upon me in reading the book, and I wrote out a brief criticism along this line, especially as regards the treatment of intervocalic σ. But I am satisfied now to refer simply to the reviews of Fick *Woch. f. klass. Phil.*, 1905, cols. 593 ff., Thumb *Neue Jahrb.*, 1905, pp. 385 ff. and especially that of Schwyzer *Indog. Forsch.*, Anz. XVIII, pp. 46 ff., with which I am in full accord.

has aptly called them, the Old Hellenic dialects. Nevertheless our maps of ancient Greece are still under the ban of Strabo's statement, showing Phocis, Aetolia, etc., in Aeolic coloring, and one may still find Phocian, Aetolian, Acarnanian, etc., classed under the head of Aeolic, e. g., in such an excellent epigraphical work as Kern's *Inschriften von Magnesia*, p. 237. The chart shows at a glance the numerous peculiarities which characterize the West Greek dialects as a whole (also some that are more doubtful), as well as those which distinguish the Northwest Greek from the Doric proper. The mixed character of Boeotian and Thessalian, in striking confirmation of the tradition (Herod. viii. 176, Thuc. i. 12. 3), is made apparent; their Aeolic peculiarities appearing on the right, the West Greek on the left, the latter element being stronger in Boeotia than in Thessaly, and in Thessaly itself stronger in the Thessaliotis than in the Pelasgiotis, as already shown by Solmsen in the article cited above. When we come to the more difficult question of the relations of the East Greek dialects to each other, more especially the position of Arcado-Cyprian, which Hoffmann groups definitely with Aeolic under the head of North and South Achaean, while others claim as dogmatically that the two groups are "gründlich verschieden" (Cauer *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*, p. 152, note), the chart has the merit of presenting the evidence impartially. Arcado-Cyprian has notable points of agreement with the Aeolic which cannot be dismissed as insignificant, but also lacks many of the distinctive Aeolic peculiarities seen in Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian; and on the other hand, it shows certain affinities with Attic-Ionic (partly Arcadian only). The historical interpretation of these relations will always be problematical, but it is most reasonable to assume that the affinities with Attic-Ionic reflect contiguity with Ionic peoples in the Peloponnesus both before and after the departure of the colonists of Cyprus, while the affinities with Aeolic reflect an earlier position, contiguous to Aeolic peoples and presumably to be sought in Northern Greece. Arcadian has some West Greek peculiarities which, we may safely assume, were introduced after the Doric invasion.

INTERRELATIONS OF THE GREEK DIALECTS—CHART I

Column headings (1–39):

1. δίδωτι
2. τρίακατι
3. τριακάτιοι, -κάτιοι
4. ἐδίκαξα
5. τοί
6. ἱαρός
7. Ἄρταμις
8. κα, τοκα
9. πρᾶτος
10. τοὔτει
11. φέρομες
12. δείξω
13. τέτορες
14. τετρώκοντα
15. αἱ τίς κα
16. ἐμίν
17. ἐμός
18. τῆνος
19. αὐτοσαυτός
20. fut. pass. w. act. end.
21. adv. in -ν = -ς
22. Ἀπέλλων
23. λῶ = θέλω
24. masc. -ā, gen. -āς
25. Ἀριστήν
26. ἐν = εἰς
27. καλήμενος
28. φέρω
29. πάντος
30. στ = σθ
31. dat. sg. -οι
32. acc. pl. -νς
33. Ἱπποκλίδας
34. Φιλώνδας
35. εἰ = η
36. φέροθι
37. Διόσδοτος
38. γίνομαι
39. ἔλυξε = εἶπε

Column headings (40–71):

40. η from ā
41. λαός
42. ἡμέας
43. ἔθηκεν
44. ἔδωκαν
45. εἰ
46. ἄν
47. Infin. in -ναι
48. ἱν = ἐν
49. gen. sg. -ευ
50. πός = πρός
51. σίς = τις
52. κάς = καί
53. ὅου = ὅδε
54. dat. w. ἀπό, etc.
55. ἀμφί, στάλλα, etc.
56. ἴα = μία
57. antevoc. ι > ι
58. καλέσσαι
59. φέρμεν
60. ρι = ρι
61. πέμπε
62. perf. pple in -ων
63. patr. adj. = gen. sg.
64. ἀγρέω = αἱρέω
65. ποθίκων
66. ἱκοστος
67. ὀπ(ύ) = ἀπό
68. ἀπύ = ἀπό
69. φλίημι
70. στρωτός
71. πεδά

Dialect	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71
Attic																																								+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+																											
Ionic (E.C.W / E.C.W)																																		+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+																								
Arcadian				+	+	⊕																				+					+												+	+	+	+	+	+	⊕	⊕	+	+															+	+	+	+	+	+
Cyprian																										+																		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+															+	+	+	+	
Lesbian																																																							+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Thessalian (P.Th / P.Th)	+	⊕		+		⊕														⊕			⊕			+				⊕	⊕		+	⊕	+	+	+	+	+																+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+		+	+	
Boeotian	+	+	+	⊕	+	+	+	+	+	+								+					⊕			+	+			⊕	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+																+	+	⊕	+	+	+			+							+	+
Phocian	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	⊕			⊕			+	+	⊕		⊕		⊕	+	+																													+						+		
Locrian	+		⊕	+			+						+				+									+	+	+	+	+																																		⊕							
Elean	+	+	+	+	+	+		+													+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+																																		+	⊕		⊕	
Laconian	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+																+	+	+																																										
Heraclean	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+																																																		⊕	
Megarian	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+											+	⊕																																														⊕
Corinthian	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+								+	+		+																																									⊕			⊕
Argolic	+	+	+	⊕	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	⊕		+				⊕																																											⊕			⊕	+
Rhodian	+	⊕		+	+	+	+	+		+						+			+		+	+																																															⊕
Coan	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+				+	⊕																																															⊕
Theran	+	⊕	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+					+	+												⊕																																		⊕	⊕	+
Cretan	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	⊕	+	+			+	+				+	+	+	+																													⊖															⊕	⊕	+

CHART I *a*
INTERRELATIONS OF THE GREEK DIALECTS
(Condensed from Chart I)

Attic

Ionic

Arcadian

Cyprian

Lesbian

P.   P.

Thessalian

Th.   Th.

Boeotian

Phocian

Locrian

Elean

Laconian

Heraclean

Megarian

Corinthian

Argolic

Rhodian

Coan

Theran
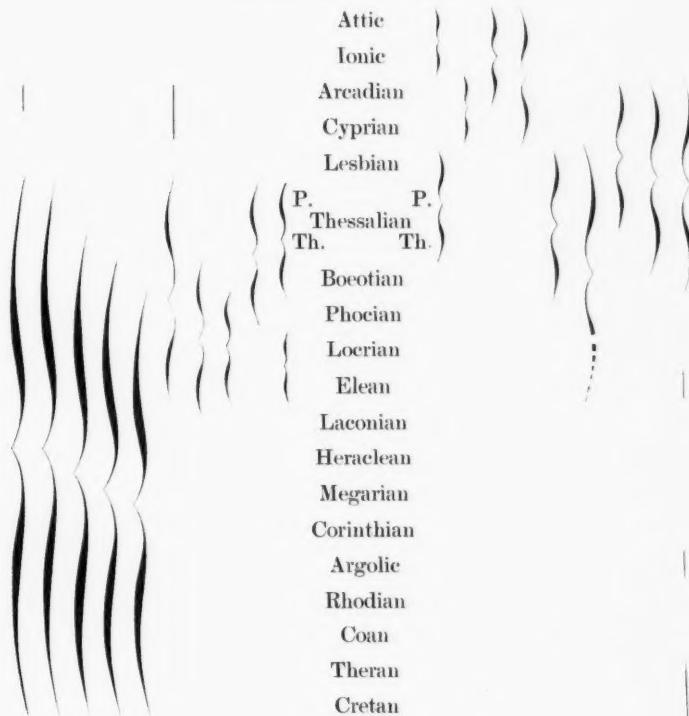
Cretan

NOTES TO THE CHART
Left. West Greek

1–15. These are the phenomena which have the clearest claim to be regarded as general West Greek characteristics. Barring a few cases of actual divergence in Cretan (5, 7, and possibly 11), we are entitled to assume that the absence of examples in some of the dialects, which is especially noticeable in the case of Locrian, Elean, and Laconian (for which, however, Heraclean, which is given a separate place, fills out most of the blanks), is purely accidental, due to the insufficiency of the material. It must be remembered also that in many of the Doric dialects, even where the total amount of material is extensive, for example, Rhodian, only a very small part of it antedates the period of κοινή influence, most of it being in what may be called the Doric κοινή (really a Doric-Attic κοινή), in which certain of the West Greek characteristics, in distinction from others which persisted for some centuries, were given up. Thus the numerals appear in the κοινή form almost universally after the fourth century B. C.; ἱαρός is generally replaced by ἱερός, τοι very frequently by οἱ, and often the first plural ending -μες by -μεν.

Of these general West Greek characteristics, 1–10 are also common to Boeotian, 1, 2 (and presumably 3), 4–6 to Thessalian (5 only in the Thessaliotis), and 3–4 even to Arcadian.

1. δίδωτι = δίδωσι. This stands for a considerable class of words in which the retention of the original τ is a West Greek, its change to σ an East Greek, characteristic. In general, the assibilation of τ before ι is a change the precise conditions of which still remain obscure. Neither their formulation by Kretschmer (*Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXX, pp. 565 ff.), nor that of Goidanich-Brugmann (Brugmann *Gr. Gram.*³, p. 66, and the literature cited) is convincing. And, whatever the true factors, they are in part wholly independent of dialectic variation. But there remains a considerable class of words in which there is a clean-cut dialectic distribution of the τ- and σ-forms, and, no matter whether this is strictly phonetic or due to opposite leveling in the two groups, it is one of the most significant of all dialectic variations.

1) All verb forms with the endings -τι, -ντι. Examples are plentiful in all the West Greek dialects and Boeotian, and they are replaced by the forms in -σι only in the most extreme stages of κοινή influence. That Thessalian belongs in the same group is shown by the 3 pl. subj. κατοικείουνθι (Hoffmann II, No. 17; see Schulze *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1897, p. 881). The θ of this and the corresponding Boeotian forms (-νθι beside sing. in -τι) do not represent a phonetic change, an intermediate stage between -ντι and -νσι, as was once thought, but arose in the 3 pl. mid. (Thess. ἐγένονθο, Boeot. συνεβάλονθο) under the influence of the endings -μεθα, -σθε (still otherwise Schulze in Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, p. 23). For the position of Thessalian, cf. also πὸτ, Ποτειδοῦν, cited below.

2) The numerals for 20 and the hundreds, (f)ίκατι = εἴκοσι, -κάιοτι = -κόσιοι (Arc. κάσιοι). See under 2 and 3.

3) Some nouns and adjectives in -τις, -τιος, -τια beside -σις, -σιος, -σια. The majority of words of this class show σ without dialectic variation, while a few have τ even in East Greek. For the material see especially Kretschmer *loc. cit.* There are plenty of σ-forms in the West Greek dialects, many of them much too early to be attributed to κοινή influence, and, in view of their frequency and the uncertainty as to the factors involved in the change, it would be rash, in my opinion, to stamp them as survivals from the pre-Doric period, as Solmsen, *Rhein. Mus.* LIX, p. 492, note, though expressing himself cautiously, seems inclined to do. Nevertheless there are a number of words which do show a variation between τ and σ and in which the prevalence of the τ-forms in the West Greek dialects is unmistakable. The most important examples are: Ἀρταμίτιος, Ἀρτεμίτιος in numerous Doric dialects beside a few late forms with σ. See Kretschmer *loc. cit.*, p. 583. Cf. now also Delph. Ἀρταμίτια = Ἀρτεμίσια (*SGDI.* 2561 D. 8).—Boeot. Ἀφροδίτιος, Ἀφροδιτία, but oftener Ἀφροδίσιος, Ἀφροδισία, all examples being late (see *IG.* VII, Index, Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, pp. 36 f.), Epid. Ἀφροδίτιον (*IG.* IV. 1497), Lac. Ἀφροδοτία (name of a town, Ahrens II, p. 61). Ἀφροδίσιον occurs beside Ἀρτεμιτίω in a late inscription of Acrae, a colony of Syracuse (*SGDI.* 3246), and Ἀφροδισιών Ἀρτεμσιών in an inscription of the Magnetes, which is of the first century A. D. and wholly in the κοινή (*Ath. Mitth.* VII, pp. 71 f.).— πλούτιος, πλατίος, ἐνιάντιος = πλούσιος, πλησίος, ἐνιαύσιος are cited as Laconian in the *Etym. Mag.* (Ahrens, II, p. 60), and of these πλατίον occurs also in literary Doric (Ahrens, *loc. cit.*), and ἐνιαύτιος in inscriptions of Cos (*SGDI.* 3636. 37) and Delphi (*ibid.* 2501. 44). But ἐνιαύσιος in Telos (*ibid.* 3458), κατενιαύσιος at Gela (*ibid.* 4250).—Ethnica in -ούντιοι, -οντιοι, -ώντιοι (all from -ο(f)έντιοι), like Σελινούντιοι, Ὀπούντιοι, Ὀπόντιοι, Σκιλλώντιοι, etc. (see Kretschmer *loc. cit.*, p. 582) are frequent in West Greek territory. Naturally these forms are commonly retained in all dialects, e. g., by Attic writers, but there is evidence of by-forms with σ which may be claimed as the true East Greek equivalents, e. g., Σελινούσιοι, Ὀποείσιοι (Ahrens II, p. 61).—The inhabitants of the Ionic Μίλητος are known as Μιλήσιοι, and this form is generally retained, at most with the substitution of ᾱ for η, e. g., Boeot. Μιλάσιος (*IG.* VII. 519) beside usual Μιλήσιος. But the inhabitants of the Cretan Μίλατος were known as Μιλάτιοι (*SGDI.* 4952 D. 17, 5152).—Ahrens II, p. 62 thinks that γεροντία which occurs in Xen. *Rep. Lac.* x. 1. 3 in the sense of 'membership in the senate,' was the true name of the Spartan senate. But γερωχία Aristoph. *Lys.* 980 is certainly intended to represent a Laconian γερωhία (from *γερωσία).—The name of the Boeotian town which appears in Homer in its old Aeolic form Εὔτρησις (cf. also Εὔτρησις in Arcadia), shows its later Boeotian form in Εὐτρετί-φαντος (see Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, p. 36, Solmsen *Rhein.*

Mus. LIX, p. 494), and now more directly in Εὐτρειτιδιεῖες Ἀπόλλωνι *BCH.*
XXVIII (1904), p. 430.—ῥυτιάζω = ῥυσιάζω is evidenced by Troiz. ἐρρυ-
τιασμένους, etc., *IG.* IV. 752 *passim*.[1]

4) For πρός Homer has also προτί and ποτί, but otherwise the distri-
bution of the τ and σ forms is precisely the same as in δίδωτι, δίδωσι,
namely πορτί in Cretan, ποτί in all the other West Greek dialects, includ-
ing Boeotian and Thessalian, but Att.-Ion., Lesb. πρός, Arc.-Cypr. πός.
Argol., Locr., Delph. ποί, beside ποτί, has, among other explanations, been
viewed as coming from a pre-Doric *ποσί (Arc.-Cypr. πός), like Lac.
Ποhοιδάν beside Arc. Ποσοιδάν (see below). So, most recently, Thumb
Neue Jahrb. 1905, p. 396. I believe that this is correct, and that it is not
accidental that the form is most frequent in Argolis, where the change
of intervocalic σ to *h* and its eventual loss is well attested. But the
presence of the form in Delphian and Locrian is still a puzzle to me.
Thumb assumes that not only the σ, but its change to *h*, is pre-Doric,
and that this change occurred not only in the Peloponnesus but in
Northern Greece. But apart from the difficulty of assuming this even
for the Peloponnesus (in view of σ in Arcadian), the earlier population of
Locris and Phocis was doubtless Aeolic, and there is no trace of such a
treatment of σ in any Aeolic dialect.

5) In the name of the god Poseidon the τ-forms (Ποτειδάων etc.) are
attested for various Doric dialects and for Delphian, Boeotian, and Thes-
salian, the σ-forms for Attic-Ionic, Lesbian, and Arcadian. See Solmsen
Rhein. Mus. LVIII (1903), pp. 619 ff. The Lac. Ποhοιδάν has long been
recognized as the pre-Doric (Achaean) form (cf. Arc. Ποσοιδάν) with the
regular Laconian change of σ to *h*. There are several occurrences of
Ποσειδάν in Doric inscriptions, which Solmsen thinks may also in part
represent a retention of the pre-Doric form. In principle there is, of
course, nothing to be said against this. But the inscriptions containing
them are nearly all of a time when κοινή influence is to be looked for, and
the few which are of any extent show other evidences of this, e. g., two
from Calauria (*IG.* IV. 840, 841) which have τριακοσίας and εἰ for earlier
αἰ. The only early examples are from Rhodes, and may be ascribed to the
early Ionic influence which is evident in the Doric islands of the Aegean.

6) The change of τ to σ before υ is, like that before ι, hard to define
precisely (see Lagercranz *Zur griech. Lautgeschichte*, pp. 121 ff., and
Brugmann *Ber. sächs. ges. Wiss.* 1901, pp. 89 ff.), and only in part subject
to dialectic variation. But where such variation exists the parallelism
with δίδωτι, δίδωσι is too marked to be accidental. Att.-Ion., Lesb., Arc.
σύ (Arc. σύ in *Philologus* LIX (1900), p. 201), but Dor. τύ (literary Doric,

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[1] I pass over Μυρτίλος which Schulze *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1897, p. 892, and Solmsen
Rhein. Mus. LVIII (1903), p. 616, regard as distinctively West Greek, as contrasted
with Lesb. Μυρσίλος. But Μυρτίλος is also a good Athenian name. Cf. Thuc. v. 19
and 24, *IG.* II. 977 *d.* 10.

confirmed by an inscription of Epidaurus, *SGDI.* 3342. 63), Boeot. τού
(Corinna). The existence of τύ beside σύ in Lesbian is properly doubted
by Meister I, pp. 122 f. The form is of course rare in inscriptions and
most dialects offer no examples.—Att.-Ion. ἥμισυς, ἡμίσεια, ἥμισυ, Lesb.
αἰμισέων, Arc. ἥμισυ, but Cret. [ἡ]μιτυ-έκτō *SGDI.* 4957, Epid. ἡμίτεια *IG.*
IV. 914. There are, indeed, more examples of forms in -συ in West
Greek territory, cited by Brugmann *loc. cit.,* and more fully by Gunner-
son *History of u-Stems in Greek,* pp. 51 ff., who points out the possi-
bility that they are due to κοινή influence. As a matter of fact all the
examples quoted are from inscriptions which are either wholly in the
κοινή or show plenty of κοινή influence. Coan ἥμισυ *SGDI.* 3636, 51,
overlooked by Gunnerson, is somewhat earlier, but even this inscription,
though purer than any others from Cos, already has the Attic forms of
the numerals, as εἰκάς beside ἰκάς, acc. pl. τρεῖς, χιλιαστύς.— Delph. Δάτυς,
Phthiot. Δατύας, Dolop. Δατυιάδας, but Boeot. Δασύας, all belonging with
Att. δασύς, Δασυμένης. See Brugmann, *loc. cit.,* p. 93.

2. (ϝ)ίκατι = εἴκοσι. This form is characterized not only by its reten-
tion of τ, for which it has already been cited under 1, but also by ι and α
of the first and second syllables, in contrast to Att.-Ion., Lesb., Arc. εἴκοσι
(also doubtless Cypr., though no example is quotable), which has ει from
ἐ-ϝι with prothetic ε, and ο for α after the analogy of the following
numerals in -κοντα. ϝίκατι or ἴκατι (also Pamph. φίκατι) is directly attested
in most of the West Greek dialects and Boeotian, and in some of the
others (where ⊕ appears in the chart) is implied, at least as regards the
vowel of the first syllable, by ἰκάς, which sometimes survives after ἴκατι
itself has been displaced by εἴκοσι, e. g., in the Rhodian and Coan inscrip-
tions. See Solmsen *Untersuch. zu gr. Laut- und Verslehre,* pp. 252 ff.
and V, *Rhein. Mus.* LVIII (1903), pp. 614 ff.

The same relation exists in the ordinal ϝικαστός, quotable only from
Boeotian, = Att.-Ion. εἰκοστός, Lesb. εἴκοιστος (see *Class. Rev.* XIX,
pp. 242 ff.).

3. τριακάτιοι, Arc. τριακάσιοι = τριακόσιοι. The numerals for the hun-
dreds, which have already been cited under 1, show also a vowel variation
similar to that of ϝίκατι, εἴκοσι. But their distribution differs from that
of the preceding in that in this respect Arcadian goes with the West
Greek dialects. Examples of -κατιοι occur in Cretan *SGDI.* 4985,
5014, 5100, Theran (Cyrene) *ibid.* 4833. 15, 52, Coan *ibid.* 3705. 12,
Arg. (Mycenae) *ibid.* 3316, Epid. *IG.* IV. 1488 *passim,* 1492. 11, 31, Troiz.
SGDI. 3362. 48, 51, Heracl. (26 times, twice -κοσιοι), Lac. *SGDI.* 4413. 16,
4427, 4598 *a.* 1, *b.* 2 (Xuthias inscr.), Elean *ibid.* 1154, 1156, Delph. *ibid.*
2501. 29, *BCH.* XXVI (1902), pp. 41 ff. (frequent), *ibid.* XXVII (1903),
pp. 21 ff. In the other West Greek dialects examples of these numerals
are lacking or occur only in later inscriptions after the introduction of
the κοινή form. -κατιοι is also Boeotian, e. g., *SGDI.* 488. 118, 489. 38,

etc., and it is safe to assume that it is Thessalian, too, though not yet quotable.

4. ἐδίκαξα = ἐδίκασα. Isolated examples of the extension of the ξ, which is regular in the future and aorist of verbs in -ζω coming from guttural stems, to the corresponding tenses of other verbs in -ζω, are found even in Homer (πολεμίξομεν, as vice versa ἥρπασε beside ἥρπαξε) and Hesiod (φημίξωσι). But this does not impair the significance of the fact that this becomes the normal type in the West Greek dialects, together with Thessalian and Arcadian. Examples are numerous in nearly all the West Greek dialects, and the type remains one of their most persistent characteristics, surviving in some of the very latest inscriptions which have any claim to be dialectic (e. g., ἀφηρώιξεν in Thera, as late as the third century A. D.[1]). Hence it is quotable even from dialects which, on account of the lateness of the material, are not included in the chart, as Messenian (Andania inscr.), Achaean, Epirotan, and the N. W. Greek κοινή (see Kern *Insc. von Magnesia*, p. 240). In Locrian the place of a verbal example may be supplied by ψάφιξξις (see below). The Heraclean Tables contain κατεσώισαμες (once κατεσώιξαμες) beside ἐτέρμαξαν, ἐδίξαμεθα, ἐργαξῆται, etc. (ξ in twelve different forms, many of them occurring several times), and, in view of σῶσαι in Sophron, Coan διέσωισε *SGDI*. 3618. 15, and Achaean συνδιασώισαντες *ibid*. 1612. 10, this is probably not due to κοινή influence, but to contamination with ἔσωσα (Hom. ἐσάωσα) from σώω (σαόω), not σωίζω.

But in Argolis there is a noteworthy restriction of the type, the ξ formation being avoided when a guttural precedes. Cf. Arg. ἐδίκασσαν etc. *SGDI*. 3273, 3277 (also from the Heraeum *IG*. IV. 521), ἐργάσσαντο, κατεσκεύασσαν *BCH*. XXVII (1903), pp. 270 ff., Troiz. ϝεργασ(σ)ατο *IG*. IV. 801 (cf. also ἀποστεγάσσιος beside ὁ[μα]λίξιος *SGDI*. 3362), Epid. ἐργάσασθαι *SGDI*. 3325, ἀνσχίσσαι, ἀνσχίσσαντα etc., *ibid*. 3339, 3340, beside ἐναρμόξαι, προσεφάνιξε, ἐγκατοπτρίξασθαι *ibid*. 3339, 3340, ἀγωνίξασθαι *IG*. 1508. Epid. δικάξας, δικάξαιτο *IG*. IV. 941 (ii cent. B. C.) are to be attributed to the influence of the Doric κοινή, likewise στεγάξιος, *ibid*. 1485. 286, beside στεγάσσιος in l. 60 (written earlier). In most other dialects there is no such restriction (Cret. δικάκσει, etc.), but cf. Calymn. δικασσέω beside ψαφίξηται *SGDI*. 3591 (but also κατασκευάξαι *ibid*. 3569), and with Epid. ἀνσχίσσαι compare σχίσσε in Pindar.

Boeotian has several forms in ξ, as ἐκομιξάμεθα, ἐπεσκεύαξε, ἐμέριξε, ἰαρειάξασα, but oftener forms in ττ (= Att. σ) as κομιττάμενοι, κατασκευάττη, καταδουλίτταθη, etc. For full citations, see Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, pp. 20, 26. The variation seems to be local, yet there is little continuity in the geographical distribution of the forms (examples of ξ from Coronea, Leuctra, Thespiae, and the temple of Ptoon Apollo near Acraephiae; of ττ from Tanagra, Thebes, Lebadia, Orchomenus, and the boundary between Copae and Acraephiae).

[1] On ἐφώναξα etc. in Modern Greek, see Hatzidakis *Einleitung*, pp. 135 ff.

Thessalian and Arcadian had uniformly ξ, so far as we can judge
from the few examples, e. g., Thess. ψαφίξασθεν, ψαφιξαμένας, ἐργάξατο,
Arc. παρετάξωνσι, παρϝεταξαμένος. Cypr. ἐξορύξε̄ would be an example, if
from ἐξορίζω, but this I regard as most improbable.

The further extension of the guttural stem to other forms of the verb
is mainly confined to the Sicilian and Italiot writers, as ἅρμοκται, Pythag.;
μελικτάς Theocr.; etc. See Kühner-Blass I, p. 158. But beside Heracl.
κλαίγω (ποτικλαίγωσαν, ποτίκλαιγον II. 69. 107) we find κλαικτός at Andania
and Argos (BCH. XXVII (1903), p. 271), and κλαίξ, as in Theocr., also at
Andania and Epidaurus (SGDI. 3325. 110 etc.). More widespread are the
abstracts in -ξις = -σις, as Locr. ψάφιξξις, Corcyr. χείριξις SGDI. 3206. 61;
Cret. ἀπολάγαξις, χρημάτιξις ibid. 5010, Mess. ἀγόραξις ibid. 4680. 22, Epid.
ὁμάλιξις, στέγαξις (see above), Delph. ὁμάλιξις BCH. XXIII (1899), p. 566,
Lac. καθίππαξις (Hesych.), Syrac. κατονόμαξις (Archim). Cf. also Cret.
ψάφιμμα from *ψαφιγμα, Solmsen, Rhein. Mus. LVI (1901), p. 506. A
predilection for guttural stems is also to be recognized in the case of
some other nouns. Thus, besides κλαίξ already mentioned, we have Lac.
κέλε̄ξ = κέλης SGDI. 4416, and ὄρνιξ, Gen. ὄρνιχος = ὄρνις, ὄρνιθος in Pindar,
Theocritus, etc. (ὄρνιξι also in Papyri Brit. Mus., pp. 173, 175, etc.),
Delph. Ὀρνιχίδας SGDI. 2502. 452, 2768, although the usual dental stem
appears in Cretan (ὄννιθα). I would bring into this same connection the
fact observed by Solmsen Rhein. Mus. LIX (1904), p. 502, that the proper
names Φαῖκος, Φαικίας etc. are West Greek.[1]

Furthermore, at the risk of making too much of something that is
possibly only accidental, and without claiming that my material is com-
plete, I would call attention here to the relative frequency of hypocoristic
proper names in -αξ, -ακος, and -ακων in West Greek. Of names in -ακος
I find in Kirchner's Prosopographia Attica only Ἱππακος, which is also
Ionic (Callim. ep. xii), Φύλακος also Ionic (Fick-Bechtel Griech. Perso-
nennamen, p. 312), Βύττακος, which is a Macedonian name (see Kirchner
op. cit. no. 2933), and Ἀ]στακος, who is not an Athenian by birth.
Δρίμακος and Σίμακος occur in IG. II. 1012. i. 14, but this is a list of
metics. Δρίμακος the leader of the slaves in Chios (Athen. 6. 265 e) was,
of course, not a native Chian. Πόρρακος occurs in Paros (IG. XII. v. i.
173. iii. 1) and Tenos (SGDI. 5492. 77, cf. also IG. II. 983. iii 131),
Μάλακος in Andros (IG. XII. v. i. 717). Δόνακος is Lesbian (IG. XII.
ii. 74) likewise Πίττακος the famous lawgiver of Mytilene. But in West
Greek dialects, including Boeotian and Thessalian, we find, aside from
the legendary Theban heroes Ἀστακος and Λάβδακος (the latter name also
in Sicily, see Pape), Ἀρακος at Sparta (Pape), Δρώπακος in Aetolia,
SGDI. 2520, 2522, Pthiotis, ibid. 1439 (also the name of a metic at Delos,

[1] The preference for a guttural termination in Magna Graecia and Sicily may help
to explain Lat. Aiāx = Αἴας, which Jordan Krit. Beiträge, p. 37, has already connected
with names like Φαίαξ.

Ditt. *Syll.*² 629. 13), Μάρακος at Syracuse (Pape), Πύστακος of Daulis, *SGDI.* 1969. 22, Σίμακος from Epirus, *IG.* IV. 1504 I. 26, 1508. B. 6, Daulis *SGDI.* 1969, Cephallenia, Kern *Insc. von Magnesia* 35. 34, Argos, *SGDI.* 2563. 36, 2564. 68, 2567. 70, Στρόφακος of Pharsalus (Thuc. iv. 78) whence also Στροφάκειος *SGDI.* 326. 89, Σώτακος of Delphi, *SGDI.* 1786, and Cephallenia, *ibid.* 2530, Φλόγακος a Boeotian, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, p. 243.

Hypocoristics in -άκων are most frequent in Laconian, the lists of Spartan officials, *CIG.* 1237 ff., containing Δεινάκων, Εὐδαιμάκων, Ξενάκων, Πασάκων, Τειμάκων, Φιλάκων (cf. also Δαμακίων). Σιμάκων is Boeotian, *IG.* VII. 1380 (likewise the feminine Σιμακώ, *ibid.* 2682), but occurs also in Samos, *BCH.* V. 482. 9, 11. Φιλακώ is Coan, *SGDI.* 3593. 31, but also Parian, *ibid.* 5437. 7. Ἡράκων, which is found in many dialects (Attic, Aetol., Boeot., Delph., Meg., Rhod.) is a different case, being the hypocoristic in -ων to Ἡράκλειτος.

The great majority of names in -αξ are simply appellatives used as proper names (Fick-Bechtel, pp. 304 ff.), such as Ἅρπαξ, Δόναξ, Θώραξ, Κόραξ, Ἱέραξ, Σκύλαξ, Στύραξ, Χάραξ, etc., and these are not dialectically significant. But there are also some with a hypocoristic suffix -αξ as Corinth. Γύλαξ (Pape), Boeot. Πύρραξ (Thisbe *IG.* VII. 2724 *b*), Τρίαξ (Thebes, Thespiae, Tanagra, see *IG.* VII, Index, and Fick-Bechtel, p. 297), probably also Σίλλαξ name of a Sicilian (*IG.* IV. 1504 II. 33) and of a painter of Rhegium (Athen. 5. 210 *a*), Epid. Στίαξ (*IG.* IV. 1485. 116, 118), Delph. Φλείαξ (*SGDI.* 2562).

5. τοί = οί. Although τοί, ταί are still found in Homer beside the more frequent οἱ, αἱ, formed after the analogy of the singular, the latter (or οἱ, αἱ) are the only forms known in the inscriptions of Attic, Ionic, Lesbian, and Arcado-Cyprian. But in all the West Greek dialects except Cretan, and in Boeotian, we find uniformly τοί, ταί in the earlier inscriptions, and where οἱ, αἱ appear beside them, as frequently in the Doric and Northwest Greek κοινή, they are clearly due to the influence of the Attic κοινή. The one exception among the West Greek dialects is Cretan,¹ which has οἱ, αἱ from the earliest times, e. g., always in the Law Code. Thessalian has οἱ in the Pelasgiotis, e. g., κοί = καὶ οἱ in a fifth-century inscription of Larissa (Kern *Insc. Thess. Ant. Syll.* No. XVIII), but τοί in the Thessaliotis, as attested by an inscription of Pharsalus from the transitional period of the alphabet (*Mon. Antichi* VIII, p. 66). See Solmsen, *Rhein. Mus.* LX (1905), pp. 148 ff.

6. ἱαρός = ἱερός. In the West Greek dialects and Boeotian, ἱαρός or ἱαρός is always the earlier form, while ἱερός is later and plainly due to

¹By Cretan is meant, here and elsewhere, central Cretan. How far the divergencies from it which are to be observed in the east of the island represent a genuine local variation, and how far they are due merely to external influence, need not be discussed. But there is no doubt that the τοί which appears in a third-century inscription of Itanus (*SGDI.* 5058) is one of the importations from the Doric κοινή of the other Doric islands.

κοινή influence. The position of Thessalian is uncertain. We find ἱαρου-
τοῖς in an inscription of Crannon, otherwise ἱερός (citations in Hoffmann
II, p. 272), but all late. It is possible that Thessalian had both the East
and West Greek forms, though in this case it is not at Crannon that we
should expect to find the latter. On the other hand, the situation may
be precisely the same as in the dialects before mentioned. For all the
examples of ἱερός are from a time when in these dialects also ἱαρός had
been replaced by the κοινή ἱερός. This latter view is the one which I
believe will prove to be correct, when we have early occurrences of the
word in Thessalian. An apparent example of ἱαρός in Arcadian is to be
seen in a dedication coming from the temple of Artemis at Lusi (*SGDI.*
1601 = *Wiener Jahresheft* IV (1901), pp. 83, 84, No. 17), but it is doubtful
if the dedicator was an Arcadian. For other and earlier dedications
from the same place have ἱερός (*ibid.* Nos. 14, 16), and this is always the
form in other parts of Arcadia, examples occurring in the earliest inscrip-
tions of Tegea (Hoffmann I, No. 29) and Mantinea (Fougères *Mantinée*,
pp. 523 ff.). The form with ε is also Cyprian (ἱερεύς, etc.), as well as
Attic-Ionic (Ion. also ἱρός, ἱρός, like Lesb. ἶρος).

7. Ἄρταμις = Ἄρτεμις. Since the collection of examples given by the
writer *Am. Jour. Phil.* (1889), pp. 463 ff., Boisacq *Les dial dor.*, pp. 33 ff.,
G. Meyer *Gr. Gram.³*, pp. 102 ff., the material has been considerably
augmented. There can be no question now that Ἄρταμις was the form
of all Doric dialects except Cretan, and of Delphian and Boeotian, and
that Ἄρτεμις, which is also frequent in several of these, is due to κοινή
influence. Wherever the word occurs in early inscriptions the form is
always Ἄρταμις. Thus, to quote only some of these early examples,
Delph. Ἄρταμις, Ἀρταμίτια in *SGDI.* 2501, 2561 (early iv cent.), while
later inscriptions have uniformly Ἄρτεμις. Lac. Ἀρτάμι *SGDI.* 4559
(early v cent.), agreeing with Ἄρταμι, Ἀρταμιτίω of Aristoph. *Lys.* 1251,
1262, while all other inscriptional occurrences are late and in the ε-form.
Epid. Ἀρτάμιτι *IG.* IV. 914 (about 400 B. C.), Corinth. (Pthius) Ἀρτάμ[ιτος]
IG. IV. 440 (v cent.), Theran Ἀρτάμιτι, Ἀρταμιτίō *IG.* XII. iii. 452, 1326
(iv cent.). In the other Doric dialects, where both forms occur, the
examples are all late. In Boeotian, Ἄρταμις remains the usual form as
long as the dialect survives at all.

The only Doric dialect which has Ἄρτεμις from the earliest times,
and, so far as we know, the only West Greek dialect (in Locrian or Elean
examples are lacking) is Cretan. We find Ἄρτεμις in the Law Code
(iii. 6, 7), as well as in later inscriptions. Ἀρταμιτίον in one of the Teian
decrees is of no value as evidence. Thessalian, like Attic-Ionic and
Lesbian, has Ἄρτεμις, the earliest example being Hoffmann II, p. ix, No.
4 a, probably of the fourth century. In Arcadian we find Ἄρταμις in the
two oldest of the dedications from the temple at Lusi (*Wiener Jahresheft*
IV (1901), p. 83, Nos. 14, 15), while others somewhat later have Ἄρτεμις

(*ibid.*, Nos. 16–18), which also occurs in an early inscription from Cotilum, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1903, pp. 177 ff., likewise Ἀρτεμισίοι in an inscription of Stymphalus (Hoffmann I, No. 24). In Cyprian there are no examples.

8. κα = κε (ἄν). This is the form of all the West Greek dialects and Boeotian, and remains one of their most persistent characteristics. Thessalian has κε, like Lesbian, Cyprian (Arc. κ' in εἰ κ', also, without doubt, for κε). The use of ἄν, in contrast to both κα and κε, is referred to elsewhere (46, among the specific characteristics of Attic-Ionian and Arcadian.—The same κα appears also in ὅκα, τόκα, πόκα, etc. = ὅτε, τότε, πότε. Such forms are attested for Laconian, Cretan, Rhodian, Elean, Delphian, as well as literary Doric, and are to be assumed without question for all the West Greek dialects and Boeotian. The forms with -τε are Attic-Ionic, Arcadian (for examples, lacking until recently, see now Fougères *Mantinée*, pp. 523 ff., and *Philol.* XLIX (1900), pp. 201 ff.), and Cyprian. But Lesbian has ὅτα. Thessalian examples are lacking. -κα is used even in Attic in ἡνίκα, τηνίκα, etc.— γά = γε is attested for Argolic (*IG.* IV. 506), Elean, Delphian, Boeotian, as well as in literary Doric, and is to be assumed for all dialects which had κα = κε.—Adverbs in -θα = -θεν, -θε, as πρόσθα = πρόσθεν, occur in Cretan (πρόθθα), Delphian (πρόστα), and Heraclean (ἄνωθα, ἔμπροσθα), but cf. Meg. πρόσθε in an early inscription of Selinus *SGDI.* 3045 B, Argol. ἔμπροσθε, ὄπισθε, κάτωθε *SGDI.* 3362 (Troizene), etc. They are also cited as Aeolic by the grammarians and occur in Alcaeus and Sappho, but the inscriptions have only πρόσθε. See Hoffmann II, p. 274. In a few adverbs, as ἔνθα, -θα is even Attic-Ionic.

9. πρᾶτος = πρῶτος. This is attested for all the West Greek dialects except Locrian and Elean, in which no examples occur, and is also Boeotian. πρῶτος is Attic-Ionic, Lesbian, Thessalian (προῦτος), Cyprian (quotable only in proper names), and doubtless Arcadian, though not yet quotable.

Both forms have been almost universally regarded as the products of contraction from either *πρώϝατος, *πρόϝατος, or *πρόατος. The point raised by Eulenberg (*Indog. Forsch.* XV, p. 142, that there is no trace anywhere of an uncontracted form, is, in my opinion, a sufficient objection to either of the assumed forms with ϝ, in spite of Brugmann *Kurze vergl. Gram.* III, pp. xxi ff. It is less cogent against *προατος, but this also involves the assumption that the regular contraction of οα in Doric is ᾱ. And, while this is the accepted doctrine at present and is not doubted by Eulenberg, I can see no way of reconciling it with the evidence of other forms, which points rather to a contraction of οα to ω in all dialects. Schulze *Quaest. epic.*, p. 532, while deriving πρᾶτος from *πρόατος, confessed himself at a loss to account for the existence in Doric dialects of names in -ῶναξ from -οϝαναξ. To be sure, Eulenberg *loc. cit.*, p. 139, asserts: "Die zahlreichen Eigennamen wie Δημῶναξ, Ἱππῶναξ, Πλειστῶναξ aus -*οϝαναξ sind sämtlich ion. (dor. dafür Τιμάναξ)," and

Brugmann *Gr. Gram.*³, p. 62, cites "dor. Τιμᾶναξ aus *Τιμό-αναξ." This would give a distribution of the forms parallel with that of πρῶτος, πρᾶτος, but unfortunately is not in accord with the facts. Τιμᾶναξ is Rhodian and is from Τιμᾱ-, like Τιμᾱκράτης, while the same dialect has Δαμῶναξ, Δαμώνασσα from Δαμο- beside Δαμόκρατης, etc. (see Index to *IG.* XII. i). In Thera we find Τιμῶναξ (very frequent), Τιμώνασσα, Δαμώνασσα. Many of the examples are late, and might be attributed to κοινή influence, but we find nothing different in earlier times, Τιμώνασ(σ)α occurring in the archaic inscription *IG.* XII. iii. 804. Τιμῶναξ *SGDI.* 5151 was born at Amphissa, though his father came from Cyprus and was the son of a Cretan father and Cyprian mother. Δαμώνασσα is also Delphian, *SGDI.* 2106, Ἑρμῶναξ Megarian, *ibid.* 3014, and Argive, *ibid.* 2566. 61.

Aside from these names in -ῶναξ, note also Heracl. μείω from *μείο(σ)α, and further the crasis of ο, ō(ου), ω+α in West Greek, as Corinth. τὠγαθόν = τὸ ἀγαθόν *SGDI.* 3209, Meg. ὀρχέδαμε = ὦ Ἀρχέδαμε *ibid.* 3044, Ach. ὤρταμος = ὁ ἄρταμος *ibid.* 1653, Corinth. τōπελ(λ)ōνι = τῶι Ἀπέλλονι *ibid.* 3227, Boeot. τōπόλλōνι = τοῖ Ἀπόλλωνι *IG.* VII. 2732, Delph. τὠπόλλωνι, τὠπελλαίου = τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι, τοῦ Ἀπελλαίου *SGDI.* 2561 D 44, 46. This is the usual result seen in inscriptions, as always in literary Doric (see Kühner-Blass I, p. 224), and must represent the normal contraction, while the other type of crasis, that seen in Att. ἁνήρ, is rare, e. g., Corinth. τἀριστερόν = τὸ ἀριστερόν *SGDI.* 3163, Arg. τἀργεῖοι = τοὶ Ἀργεῖοι *ibid.* 3263, 3264, τἀργείō = τοῦ Ἀργείου *ibid.* 3271.

10. ὄπει = ὅπου. Adverbs of 'place where' in -ει = Att.-Ion. -ου. Cret. ὄπει *SGDI.* 5148, πει (αἴ πει = εἴ που) *ibid.* 4952 C. 40, αὐτεῖ (Hesych.), Ther. τεῖδε *ibid.* 4788, Coan ὄπει *ibid.* 3715. 63, Anaphe ὄπει, αὐτεῖ *ibid.* 3430, Rhod. ὄπει *ibid.* 3749. 100, Meg. ὀπειοῦν, ἄλλει *ibid.* 3052, Corcyr. εἰ *ibid.* 3196, 3199, ὄπει *ibid.* 3200, 3203, τουτεῖ *ibid.* 3220, Epid. αὐτεῖ *ibid.* 3342. 68 (poem of Isyllus), οὐθαμεῖ *ibid.* 3340. 22, Delph. εἰ (frequent), ὄπει *SGDI.* 1728, ἄλλει *ibid.* 1830, τηνεῖ *ibid.* 2561 C. 37, μηδαμεῖ *ibid.* 2561 C. 34, ἁμεῖ *ibid.* 2561 D. 48, Boeot. αὐτῖ = αὐτεῖ *Rev. ét. gr.* XII (1899), p. 71 A. 5. Here also, by analogy, Heracl. ποτεχεῖ = προσεχῶς, and Delph. ἐπεχεῖ *SGDI.* 2642. 47. For examples in literary Doric (e. g., τηνεῖ, etc. in Theocritus), see Ahrens II, pp. 361 ff.

It may be safely assumed that this type of adverbs was common to all the West Greek dialects, with Boeotian. On the other hand forms like ὅπου are found only in Attic-Ionic. Neither type is as yet quotable from Lesbian, Thessalian, or Arcado-Cyprian.

11. φέρομες = φέρομεν. Since the appearance of examples in Delphian it is safe to reckon the ending -μες as one of the West Greek characteristics, although first plural forms are still lacking in Elean and Locrian. In many dialects it was replaced by the Attic -μεν at a comparatively early period, e. g., at Delphi -μεν beside -μες before the end of the fourth

century, later nearly always -μεν. Hence it happens that in Rhodes and some of the other islands from which all the examples are late we find only -μεν. But the only Doric dialect about which there is any reason to be in doubt as to whether -μες was the proper form is Cretan. The only examples of it are εὐχαριστῶμες SGDI. 4940 (Allaria), and ὁμωμόκαμες ibid. 4952 (Dreros), both inscriptions being late and not in the genuine (central) Cretan dialect. Most of the examples of -μεν are also late, but SGDI. 5100, in which ἔλοιμεν occurs, is substantially pure in dialect. Hence, until we have further material, we must recognize the possibility that Cretan was exceptional in this respect (cf. οἱ = West Greek τοί, 5).

From other dialects, which are only partially represented in previous collections, may be quoted: Ther. ἐμβαλοῦμες SGDI. 4706. 278, Calymn. εὑρίσκομες, ἐνηνίκαμες ibid. 3591 b. 14, 21, Arg. ὑπογεγράφαμες Kern Insc. v. Magnesia 40. 7, Epid. ἀπεδώκαμες IG. IV. 1488 (very frequent), 1490–92, ἐξ[ε]δω[κα]μες ibid. 1485. 162, παρεδώκαμες ibid. 1488. 12, 14, ἐπωφείλομες ibid. 1485. 171, 172, Corinth. ἵφομες IG. IV. 324, Meg. νικῶμες SGDI. 3046 (Selinus), ἵκομες, διαπεινᾶμες Aristoph. Ach. 750, 751, Heracl. εὑρίσκομες, ἐστάσαμες, etc. (very frequent, never -μεν), Lac. ἵκομες, etc., Aristoph. Lys. Mess. ὁμολογήσαμες SGDI. 4645. 16, Delph. ἀπεδώκαμες ibid. 25C2. 2, 2503. 13, 16, ποτεθήκαμες ibid. 2502. 55, ἐδώκαμες BCH. XXVI (1902), p. 7, ὑπογεγράφαμες ibid. XXX (1906), p. 273 (No. 49). -μες also in Epicharmus, Sophron, and Theocritus. -μεν is Attic-Ionic, Arcadian (cf. ἐδικάσαμεν in the early Mantinean inscription, Fougères Mantinée, pp. 523 ff.) Lesbian, and Thessalian (ἐπινοείσομεν SGDI. 345. 13), and presumably Cyprian though not quotable. The position of Boeotian in this respect is uncertain so long as the only example is ἐπράθομεν Corinna 16.

12. δειξέω = δείξω. Although a few words show this type in Attic-Ionic, the "Doric future" is regular only in the West Greek dialects. Of the examples, too numerous to be worth quoting here in full (for extensive, but not complete, collections, see G. Meyer Gr. Gram.³, pp. 619 f., Boisacq Les dialectes doriens, pp. 193 ff.), cf. Cret. βοαθησίω (with ι from ε) SGDI. 5014, πραξίομεν ibid. 5176. 15, βοαθησίοντι ibid. 5024 B. 84, τεισῆται, πραξῆται ibid. 4998 I. 7, VI. 6, Ther. θησέοντι IG. XII. iii. 452, πραξοῦντι SGDI. 4706. 248 (with Attic ου, as often), Rhod. ἐπιμεληθησεῦντι, ἀποδωσεῦνται ibid. 4118. 6, 7, Coan ποιησεῖται ibid. 3619. 7, ἐχθυσεῦνται ibid. 3634 b. 27, Cnid. ποιησεῖται ibid. 3505. 21, Epid. βλεψεῖσθαι ibid. 3339. 75, ἐσσεῖσθαι ibid. 3340. 84, Calaur. ποιησοῦντι IG. IV. 841, Corcyr. ἐκδανεισοῦντας, χειριξοῦντας SGDI. 3206. 9, 44, Meg. ἀντεθησεῖται ibid. 3052, Heracl. ἐνδικαξῆται, ἐργαξῆται, Cephall. συνθυσοῦντι, συναυξησοῦντι Kern Insc. von Magnesia 35. 25, Ithaca ὑποδεξούμενον ibid. 36. 2, Delph. πραξέω, ὁρκιξέω SGDI. 2501. 5, 13, ἀποδειξέω, βλάψέω, ταγευσέω, etc. 2561 A. 1 ff. Examples of the future happen to be lacking in Laconian, Elean, and Locrian. In Heraclean the third plural forms ἔξοντι, κοψοντι, ἐργαξονται, etc. are now generally regarded as belonging to the ordinary future type and accord-

ingly accented ἔξοντι, etc. For from the -σεω type one expects -σιοντι like ἀναγγελίοντι, etc. See Solmsen *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXII, pp. 545 ff. But in no other West Greek dialect is there evidence of the co-existence of the two types, ordinary future forms occurring only in late inscriptions and evidently due to κοινή influence.

13. τέτορες = τέσσαρες. Examples in Cretan *SGDI.* 4964, Coan *ibid.* 3638, 3639, Calymn. *ibid.* 3591. 19, Epid. *IG.* IV. 1485. 166, 1488 *passim*, Meg. (Chalcedon) *SGDI.* 3052, Heracl. (12 times, once τέσσαρες), Locr. *ibid.* 1479, Delph. *ibid.* 1683, 2502 *passim*, 2562. 2, 15, 48, *BCH.* XXVI (1902), pp. 7 ff. (very frequent), *ibid.* XXVII (1903), pp. 21 ff. In the other West Greek dialects examples of the numeral are either lacking (e. g., Elean, Laconian) or occur only in later inscriptions when τέτορες has been replaced by the κοινή form, as it was in most of the dialects mentioned after the fourth century.

14. τετρώκοντα = τεσσαράκοντα. So Heracl. τετρώκοντα (4 times, once τεσσαράκοντα), Corc. [τε]τρώκοντα *IG.* IX. i. 880, Delph. τετρώκοντα *SGDI.* 2502, 2562, and *BCH.* XXVI, pp. 8, 41, 54 (all fourth century; later τεσσαράκοντα or τετταράκοντα). In most of West Greek dialects there are either no occurrences of this numeral (e. g., in Laconian, Cretan, Locrian, Elean), or only from the period of κοινή influence, as Coan τεσσαράκοντα *SGDI.* 3632 (II cent.). A fourth-century inscription of Troizene, *IG.* IV. 823, has τεταράκοντα, clearly due to Attic influence, beside διακάτιοι etc., and a somewhat later inscription from Epidaurus, *IG.* IV. 1492, has τεσσαράκοντα beside πεντακάτιοι (but also εἴκοσι). There is no occasion to doubt that τετρώκοντα was common to all the West Greek dialects. Archimedes has always τετρωκοστός, though only τεσσαράκοντα and τέσσα-ρες. See Heiberg *Index.* τετρώκοντα is often quoted as "Doric and Ionic" (G. Meyer, Brugmann), and τετρωκοστός actually occurs in an Ionic inscription of Mylasa, of 361/0 в. с., *SGDI.* 5753 *b*. But other Ionic inscriptions and Herodotus have only τεσσεράκοντα or τεσσαράκοντα (Hoffmann III, pp. 248 ff.), and this τετρωκοστός I believe to be a survival from the Doric period which we are entitled to assume for Mylasa and other Carian cities, as well as for Halicarnassus. Cf. Müller *Dorer* I, p. 107: "Vielleicht hat auch Mylasa einige Verbindung mit den Doriern."

15. αἴ τίς κα. This peculiarity in word-order has been noted as Doric by Ahrens II, p. 383, Wackernagel, *Indog. Forsch.* I, p. 369, and Schulze, quoted by Dittenberger *IG.* IX. i. 695. Wackernagel *loc. cit.* quotes examples from Crete, Heraclea, Mycene, Corcyra, and from a Doric κοινή inscription from Arcadian Orchomenos. Others might be added from Rhodes, Thera, Cos, Calymna, etc. For even in late inscriptions which show much κοινή influence, this remains the more usual order, e. g., αἴ τίς κα in late Rhodian inscriptions, as *SGDI.* 3836, or in the Theran will of Epicteta, *ibid.* 4706. The same order holds in Delphian not only in the earlier period, e. g., αἰ δέ τί κα, αἰ δέ τίς κα *SGDI.* 2561 A. 28, B. 51, but in

the later manumission decrees, where such phrases as εἰ δέ τίς κα ἐφάπτη-
ται, εἰ δέ τί κα πάθηι are very frequent. This is also the usual order in
Aetolian decrees, e. g., *SGDI*. 1410, 1411, 1413. Hence, though examples
are lacking in Locrian and Elean, there is no reason to doubt that this
order is common to the West Greek dialects as a whole.

But Boeotian and Thessalian, so far as I have observed, go with the
East Greek dialects in this matter; Boeot. ἠ δέ κά τις ἐφάπτειτη *SGDI*.
497 ff., ἠ δέ κά τις . . . . καθιστάει *ibid*. 802. 9, Thess. αἰ (μ)ά κέ κις κατασπάσει
Hoffmann II. 7. 27, αἰ κε τὸν ϝασστὸν κις ϝαλίσσκέτα[ι] *ibid*. 5 (both from
Phalanna; whether the same holds for the Thessaliotis remains to be
seen). Cf. Lesb. αἰ κέ τις, αἰ δέ κέ τι Hoffmann II. 83. 2. 37, Arc. εἰ κ' ἄν
τι, εἰ δ' ἄν τις, *id*. I. 30 *passim*, Cypr. ἤ κέ σις *ibid*. 135. 10. 24.

16–25. These phenomena are West Greek in the sense that they are
found only among West Greek dialects, and they are often cited among
the Doric characteristics. Some few of them, I am fully convinced, were
common to all the West Greek dialects, though quotable from only a
very few, and there are some others for which this is a possibility. On
the other hand, many of them are distinctly limited in scope.

16. ἐμίν = ἐμοί. The datives ἐμίν, τίν, ἴν are frequent in literary Doric
and often quoted as Doric by the grammarians. See Ahrens II, pp. 251 ff.
ἐῖν is also quoted as Boeotian, and τεῖν occurs in Homer. From inscrip-
tions we have Cret. ϝὶν αὐτοῖ Law Code II. 40, ἐμὶν αὐτῶι, *SGDI*. 5147 *b*. 11,
Calymn. ἐμίν, *ibid*. 3591. 8, Delph. ἐμίνγα, *ibid*. 2501. 7. But the enclitic
forms ended in -οι in West Greek, as elsewhere. Thus Cret. ϝοι, *SGDI*.
4998. 5, Arg. ϝοι, *IG*. IV. 506 (Heraeum; vi cent.), Delph. μοι, ϝοι *SGDI*.
2561 A. 16, D. 14 besides later occurrences like Epid. οἱ frequent in *SGDI*.
3339, Cret. μοι *SGDI*. 4952 *b*. 34. Nothing stands in the way of our assum-
ing that ἐμίν, etc., were the regular emphatic forms in all the West Greek
dialects, and perhaps in Boeotian, while in the East Greek dialects they
were replaced by ἐμοί, etc., Hom. τεῖν being the only survival of this type.

17. ἐμέος = ἐμοῦ. The genitives ἐμέος, τέος, and in later form ἐμεῦς,
ἐμίως, etc., are widely quoted from Doric writers by the grammarians.
See Ahrens II, pp. 248 ff. The only inscriptional example of this type
is Locr. ϝέος *SGDI*. 1478. 33, where κατὰ ϝέος is unquestionably to be
taken with Meister as = καθ' ἑαυτοῦ. But there are no other early occur-
rences of the genitive singular of personal pronouns in the West Greek
dialects, so that there is no improbability in assuming that the type in
-εος was common to them all.

18. τῆνος = ἐκεῖνος. Although formed from a different stem than
ἐκεῖνος, κεῖνος, κῆνος, it is synonymous with the latter. See now W. Havers,
Indog. Forsch. XIX (1906), pp. 76 ff. τῆνος is frequent in the Doric of the
Sicilian writers, especially Theocritus, and from inscriptions it is attested
for Heraclea (*Her. Tab*. I. 136), Delphi (τηνεῖ *SGDI*. 2561 C. 27), Aegina
(*ibid*. 3409), and Ithaca (*ibid*. 1671). Cf. also Meg. τηνῶθεν or τηνόθεν in

Aristoph. *Ach.* 754. But κῆνος is the form employed in Cretan (*SGDI*. 4998. 4), Rhodian (*ibid.* 3758. 126), Coan (*ibid.* 3636. 25), and Laconian (Alcman 10). In the inscriptions of the other West Greek dialects the pronoun does not occur at all, if we except some late examples of Att. ἐκεῖνος. In the East Greek dialects we have Att. ἐκεῖνος, Ion. κεῖνος, ἐκεῖνος, Lesb. κῆνος, but no examples from Thess., Boeot., Arc., or Cyprian. τῆνος is, then, found only among West Greek dialects, but is not one of the general West Greek characteristics.

19. αὐτοσαυτός. The expression of the reflexive by means of αὐτὸς αὐτός, either with each part declined separately, or, more often, merged into compounds of somewhat varying form (αὐτοσαυτός, αὐταυτός, αὐσαυτός, αὐσωτός, ἀσωτός) is found mainly among West Greek dialects and in Boeotian. This is certainly not an inherited West Greek characteristic, but a comparatively late development, of which there are some traces even in Attic (Kühner-Blass I, p. 600), and one which we have no right to assume, without specific evidence, for all the West Greek dialects. In some of the dialects from which it is quotable it belongs only to the later inscriptions, the earlier expression being by means of the personal pronoun with αὐτός, as in Homer, or by αὐτός alone. The most numerous examples of αὐτοσαυτός, etc., are in Boeotian (Sadée, *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, p. 38) and Delphian (*SGDI.*, Index, p. 188). But they are all late, and in earlier Delphian we have αὐτός alone, as αὐτ[οῦ] = ἐμαυτοῦ *SGDI*. 2501. 4 and αὐτῶ = ἑαυτοῦ *ibid.* 2501. 41. Cf. Lac. αὐτῶ = ἑαυτοῦ *SGDI*. 4416 *passim*, El. αὐτᾶρ = ἑαυτῆς *ibid.* 1172. 17, not to mention numerous examples from later Doric inscriptions where it is uncertain whether to read, e. g., αὐτοῦ or Att. αὐτοῦ. In late Cretan we find αὐτοσαυτοῖς *SGDI*. 5149. 32, 61, αὐτοσαυτῶ *ibid.* 5150, 5138 (all of ii cent.) and also αὐσαυτᾶς *ibid.* 4959, but in the Law Code ϝὶν αὐτῶι = ἑαυτῷ (II. 40), and τὰ ϝὰ αὐτᾶς = τὰ ἑαυτῆς (II. 46), etc. αὐσαυτᾶς occurs also in a late inscription of Calauria, *SGDI*. 3380. Heraclean has αὐτοσαυτῶν, *Her. Tab.* I. 124, and αὐταυτᾶς *SGDI*. 4630, this latter of a type which is frequent in the fragments of Archytas of Tarentum and other Pythagoreans. Cf. also αὐταυτόν from Aegina, *SGDI*. 3418. From Sicily we have also αὐτώντα, *SGDI*. 3249, and αὐτούτα, *ibid.* 5188, 5199, on the formation of which see Wackernagel *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXIII, p. 9.

20. Future passive with active endings. Rhod. ἐπιμεληθησεῦντι *SGDI*. 4118, ἀποσταλησεῖ, Kern *Insc. von Magnesia* 53. 24, Carpath. ἀναγραφησεῖ *SGDI*. 4319, Astyp. ἐπιμεληθη[σ[εῖ *ibid.* 3459. 25, Ther. συναγθησοῦντι *ibid.* 4706. 25, Cret. ἀναγραφησ[εῖ] *ibid.* 5149. 19. Hesychius quotes as Doric ὠατωθησῶ· ἀκούσομαι. Archimedes has φανησεῖν, δειχθησοῦντι, but usually the middle endings. See Ahrens II, p. 289. Μεg. ἀντεθησεῖται *SGDI*. 3052. 22 (Chalcedon), and ἀνατεθησεῖται, *ibid.* 3089. 38 (Callatis), may owe their -ται to κοινή influence.

Blass *Rhein. Mus.* XXXVI (1881), p. 612, is emphatically of the

opinion, already expressed by Ahrens, that this is a general Doric characteristic. While this is probable, it must nevertheless be noted that the inscriptional examples, in spite of their gradual increase in number, are still confined to the Doric islands.

21. Adverbs in -ν = -ς. Various adverbs, not all of the same type, show -ν in place of usual -ς in several West Greek dialects, but in no case is there yet sufficient evidence that this was a common West Greek characteristic. (1) Numeral adverbs. Lac. τετράκιν, ἑπτάκιν, etc. SGDI. 4413, 4416, Cret. ὀθθάκιν Mus. Ital. III, p. 681, No. 112, with which belong also Cret. αὖτιν, Law Code IV. 3, αὐταμέριν SGDI. 4999, El. ὑσταριν, Solmsen Inscr. select. 40, and probably Thess. ἀΐν SGDI. 361 B. 12. αὖθιν is also quoted as Rhegian, Ahrens II, p. 87. Most of the Doric dialects have only the usual forms in -κις, as Heracl. ὁσσάκις, Calymn. πολλάκις, etc., though there is perhaps no example so old as to preclude the possibility of κοινή influence. (2) Epid. ἄνενν = ἄνευ, SGDI. 3325. 58, but El. ἄνευς. (3) ἐμπᾶν beside ἐμπᾶς = ἐμπης in Pindar. (4) ἐξᾶν or ἐξᾶν (Schulze Quaest. ep., p. 293) = ἐξῆς, in Coan, SGDI. 3705. 80, Rhodian, ibid. 3756. 10, 3836. 108, and Theran, ibid. 4706. 156.

22. Ἀπέλλων = Ἀπόλλων. This is quoted as Doric by Herodian, and is frequent in Laconian, e. g., SGDI. 4515, 4537 ff. It occurs also in Pamphylian, ibid. 1267. 30, in Cretan, ibid. 4952. 20, 24, 5073. 24 in an archaic inscription of Syracuse, ibid. 3327, and in one from Corinth or some Corinthian colony found at Delphi (Sitzungsber. Berl. Acad. 1888, p. 581). Its existence in the colonies of Magna Graecia is evidenced by early Latin Apello (Festus), and Oscan Apelluneis, Ἀππελλουνημ. In the Doric islands of the Aegean, except Crete, we find only Ἀπόλλων even in the earliest times, e. g., Ther. Ἀπόλ(λ)ōν SGDI. 4713 (archaic), Rhod. Ἀπολ(λ)ωνίδα ibid. 4223 (v cent.). This might easily be due to the influence of the Delian cult. But Ἀπόλλων is also the only form occurring in Argolis, e. g., in the early law concerning sacrifices at the Asclepieum, IG. IV. 914, in Megara, e. g., IG. VII. 35 (the often-repeated mention of Megarian among the dialects which show Ἀπέλλων is due to CIG. 1065, where the reading will not stand; see IG. VII. 179), and in the Megarian colonies, e. g., in the inscription from the Apollo temple at Selinus, SGDI. 3046. Among the Northwest Greek dialects Ἀπόλλων is the only form in Delphian, while from Locrian and Elean there are no examples. It is possible to take the ground that in all these cases Ἀπόλλων is an East Greek survival, but in the light of the existing evidence I doubt very much if the distribution of the two forms ever coincided with the division of East and West Greek dialects. We can hardly say more than that Ἀπέλλων survived in some of the Doric dialects, while in most others, whether East or West Greek, the form was Ἀπόλλων. Cyprian has Ἀπείλων beside Ἀπόλλων, and Thessalian stands alone with its Ἄπλουν.

I have ignored Ἀπελλαῖος, Ἀπελλᾶς, etc., which are found in dialects which have only Ἀπόλλων, and are not even confined to West Greek.

23. λῶ = θέλω, βούλομαι. This verb, which is related to Latin *volō* (*ϝλη-έω, Cret. λεῖω(?), λείω), is often mentioned by grammarians as the Doric equivalent of θέλω, and is used by Epicharmus and Theocritus. As Laconian it is attested by Aristoph. *Lys.*, Thuc. v. 77, and by the Hesychian gloss λῇς· βούλησις. In inscriptions it occurs frequently in Cretan (Law Code and elsewhere), once each in Elean, λεοίταν *SGDI*. 1151, Megarian, λῶντι *SGDI*. 3045 *b*, at Corcyra, λῶντι (dat. sing., pple.), *SGDI*. 3206. 120, and its restoration seems certain in a Coan inscription, Ditt. *Syll.*² 940. 5, 6 τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὁ χρήιζων ἐπεί κα [λῆι].

The most widespread verb of wishing in the dialects, West as well as East Greek, is that which corresponds to Att.-Ion. βούλομαι, namely, Thess. βέλλομαι, Boeot. βείλομαι (Lesb. βόλλομαι in Theocritus), Arc. βόλομαι (also in Homer and in West Ionic), Locr. Delph. δείλομαι, and δήλομαι in Elis, Heraclea, Anaphe, Cos, Calymna, Thera.

θέλω is almost wholly confined to late inscriptions, where it is, I believe, an importation from the κοινή. It is very common in the Delphian manumission decrees, while δείλομαι occurs only four times (always in the same phrase, but even in this θέλω is usual).

Another important verb of wishing is χρήζω, which in Attic-Ionic, while sometimes so used, never becomes a serious rival of θέλω or βούλομαι. Although it also occurs elsewhere, as Delph. ὁ δὲ χρήζων καταγορεῖν *SGDI*. 2561 A. 38, El. αἰ χραίδ(δ)οι ibid. 1160, Troiz. δαῆναι χρ[ήιζ]ων *IG*. IV. 760 (here perhaps poetical influence), its frequent employment is characteristic of insular Doric. In Rhodes it is the usual verb of wishing, δήλομαι not occurring, e. g., ἐξέστωι τῶι χρήζ(ο)ντι *SGDI*. 3836. 95, ποταγγελλέτω . . . . ὁ χρήιζων ἐς τοὺς μάστρους ibid. 4110. 33–35, ἀποδωσεῦνται τῶι χρήιζοντι ἐλαχίστου παρασχεῖν τὰν στάλαν ibid. 4118. 7, 8. In Cos δήλομαι is more frequent, but cf. τῶι [χ]ρήζ[οντ]ι ἐσαγγέλλειν *SGDI*. 3627, φανερὸν σκοπεῖν τῶι χρήζοντι, ibid. 3705. 70, while in 3721 we find ἐξῆμεν . . . . τῶι χρήιζοντι and ἦμεν . . . . ταῖς χρηζο[ύ]σαις beside ἦμεν τᾶι δηλομέναι. So from Calymna εἰ κα χρείζωνται παρῆμεν *SGDI*. 3591. 27, from Astypalaea ὅπαι κα χρήι(ζ)ηι ibid. 3459, φαινέτω ὁ χρήζων ἐπὶ τῶι ἡμίσωι *IG*. XII. iii. 168. 12, from Nisyrus [φαινέτω δὲ] ὁ χρήζων ἐπὶ [τῶι ἡμίσει], *IG*. XII. iii. 88, from Thera ὑπὸ τοῦ χρήζοντος τῶν συγγενῶν *SGDI*. 4706. 266 (but προαιρέομαι in ll. 50, 75, 251; δήλομαι in 4705). In a Cretan inscription of Itanus, *SGDI*. 5058, which is in the Doric κοινή imported from the other islands, we find also αἴ τί[ς κα χρ]ή[ι]ζηι.

24. Masculine ā-stems with nom. sing. in -ᾱ, gen. sing. in -ᾱς. Although the usual type in all dialects is that in -ᾱς (-ης), gen. -ᾱο (-ᾱ, -εω, etc.), formed after the analogy of masculine o-stems, there are some scattered examples of the unchanged declension in -ᾱ, gen. -ᾱς. Such forms have so far appeared only among West Greek dialects (including Boeotian

and Thess.), and, more specifically, excepting some Megarian genitives in -ᾱς, in northwestern Greece, namely Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia, Leucas, Cephallenia, Delphi, Boeotia, and Thessaly (Phalanna). See Solmsen, *Rhein. Mus.* LIX (1904), pp. 494 f., who cites the material in full.

25. Hypocristic proper names in -ην, as Ἀριστήν for usual Ἀρίστων. These are found mostly in Corinth, Corcyra and especially Apollonia and Epidamnus. See the examples collected by Blass *SGDI.* 3225. Πυρρήν *IG.* IV. 1485. 37 is an Epidaurian, and from Thera we have Ψήν, *IG.* XII. iii. 591. There may be, unknown to me, examples from some of the other West Greek dialects, but most of them, certainly, have only the usual -ων.

I have omitted from this chart various peculiarities which, while they are common to the West Greek dialects and are often referred to casually as "Doric," are not confined to these even in the widest application of the term, and have no claim to be regarded as distinctively West Greek. So, for example, the retention of original ᾱ or the contraction of ᾱο and ᾱω to ᾱ, absence of ν-movable, forms like ἔθεν, and other phenomena which are common to all dialects except Attic-Ionic (see 40–44); αἰ = εἰ, and κε or κα = ἄν (see 45, 46); the infinitive in -μεν (see 47, 59); words like ἵκω = ἥκω, πᾶμα = κτῆμα, etc. which are by no means confined to West Greek. ἅτερος = ἕτερος is quotable from various Doric dialects (Corcyra, Cos, Crete, Epid., Mess., also lit. Doric), from Arcadian (*BCH.* XXV [1901], p. 267), is cited as Boeotian (*Et. Gud.* 256. 2) and Lesbian (Herodian I. 507. 6), and is also seen in Att. ἅτερος with crasis (Kühner-Blass I, p. 223). As far as we know, ἕτερος was confined to Attic-Ionic, all examples in other dialects being late.

One phenomenon which I am disposed to reckon in this category, though it is commonly regarded as distinctively West Greek, is the contraction of αε to η. Nearly all the West Greek dialects furnish examples of this in forms of verbs in -αω, as τιμῆν, νικῆν, ἐνίκη, etc., or in crasis, as κῆπί, κῆν, κῆκ, etc. Boeotian also has φυσῆτε and κῆπιχάριτται in Aristoph. *Ach.* 863, 884. Thessalian has τές = τὰ ἐς (ἐκ) and κἐν = καὶ ἐν in the Sotaerus inscription (Solmsen *Insc. select.* 10). And even Lesbian has κἐμέ = καὶ ἐμέ in a sixth- or fifth-century inscription, Hoffmann II. 179, Meister *Berl. phil. Woch.* 1892, col. 514, which confirms the κῆν in Sappho 68, and the similar forms in Theocritus, though otherwise in Sappho we find κᾱ- (see Hoffmann II, p. 292). These Thessalian and Lesbian examples of η in crasis are regarded by Meister as not representing the contraction of αε, but as following the other system of crasis, consisting of lengthening of the second vowel. See *Ber. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1896, p. 264, and *Herodas*, pp. 787 ff. But we are not called upon to separate these from the similar forms of crasis in West Greek, until we have definite proof that η is not the regular contraction of αε in

Lesbian and Thessalian. Such proof is not furnished by any of the verb-forms cited by Hoffmann II, 293, because of the uncertainty as to which type they belong, e. g., Thess. ἐρουτᾶι may be of the -άω type. In Arcado-Cyprian there is no evidence as to the contraction of αε. Hence, while the question must remain open until further material is available, it is quite possible that the contraction of αε to η is common to all dialects except Attic-Ionic.

26–34. These include the phenomena which distinguish the North-west Greek dialects, including in part Boeotian and Thessalian, from the other West Greek dialects, the Doric proper, and also some of more limited scope and more doubtful significance.

26. ἐν = εἰς. All the Northwest Greek dialects together with Boeotian and Thessalian, and also Arcadian-Cyprian (ἰν), retain the inherited use of ἐν with the accusative (as in Latin), while the Doric dialects, like Attic-Ionic and Lesbian, replaced this by the extended form ἐνς (εἰς, ἐς). The distribution of the forms is independent of the old division into East and West Greek dialects. But it constitutes the most notable difference between the Northwest Greek dialects as a whole and the Doric dialects, and, for the later times, between the Northwest Greek κοινή and the Doric κοινή. On the alleged Megarian ἐν with acc. see Sadée De Boeot. tit. dial., p. 28, note. ἐν στάλαν in a Messenian inscription, Journ. Hell. Stud. XXV (1905), p. 50, which the editor, loc. cit., p. 53, calls "the first instance of ἐν = εἰς in Doric," is, I am convinced, to be attributed to Aetolian influence, which has long been recognized in late Messenian inscriptions (πάντοις, etc.; see 29).

The appearance of ἐς in a fifth-century inscription of Delphi, BCH. XXIII (1899), p. 611 (τὸν ϝοῖνον μὲ φάρεν ἐς τὸ [Ε]ὑδρομον) is surprising, from whatever light we view it.[1] For according to all the other evidence Delphian agreed with the other Northwest Greek dialects in having onlyἐν, except as this came to be replaced in part by εἰς under Attic influence. Can this be an exceptionally early instance of Attic influence in Delphi?

ἔντε = ἔστε, parallel to ἐν = εἰς, is Locrian, Phocian (hέντε) and North-west Greek κοινή, there being no example in Elean. Boeotian has ἐν, but ἔττε from ἔστε (otherwise Bechtel Hermes XXXVI [1901], who derives ἔττε from an unexplained *ἐν-ττε).

27. καλείμενος = καλούμενος. Locr. ἐνκαλείμενος SGDI. 1478. 43, Delph. καλείμενος, ποιείμενος, ἀφαιρείμενος, χρείμενος, etc. (SGDI. Index, p. 191), Aetol. ἀφικνείμενος Kern Insc. von Magnesia 91 c, Boeot. δείμενος IG. VII. 2858, ἀδικείμενος Aristoph. Ach. 914, El. κα(δ)δαλέμενος SGDI. 1149. These have the appearance of coming from -ε-εμενος instead of -ε-ομενος, but are

[1] See now Günther Die Präpositionen in den griechischen Dialektinschriften, pp. 8 ff., and Solmsen Rhein. Mus. LXI (1906), pp. 493 ff., whose views on the distribution of ἐν and ἐνς differ somewhat from those expressed above.

better explained as due to the analogy of other forms in which ε or η
(from ε-ε) is normal, just as Phoc. ποιεῖται *IG*. IX. 1. 97 is formed after
ποιεῖσθε, etc. See Danielsson *Epigraphica*, p. 45. Not to be confused
with these are Lesb. καλήμενος, Thess. διασαφείμενος, Arc. ἀδικήμενος, etc.,
which go hand in hand with the other examples of μ- inflection of con-
tract verbs in these dialects. See 69. Pamph. βōλέμενυς probably belongs
in this latter category also. Although there are some few μ- forms in
Elean, they are limited in scope and not found among -εω verbs, so that
we are justified in reckoning El. κα(δ)δαλέμενος with the Northwest
Greek forms. Likewise the Boeotian examples, since there is no trace of
the Aeolic μ- inflection in Boeotian inscriptions.

Lesb. ποείμενος in an inscription of Tenedos from about 150 B. C.,
SGDI. 305, is generally assumed to have the late spelling ε for η. See
Meister I, p. 85, Hoffmann II, p. 424. But as this is otherwise all but
unknown even in the latest Lesbian inscriptions, it is scarcely more
daring to suggest that this may be the Northwest Greek form, which
had doubtless become widely known through Aetolian decrees. One
must admit, however, that there is no other evidence of any Northwest
Greek influence in Lesbian.

28. φάρω = φέρω. The change of ε to a before ρ has long been known
as regular in Locrian and Elean, e. g., Locr. φάρειν, πατάρα, ἀνφοτάροις,
ἀμάραις, etc., El. φάρεν, πάρ = περί, ὁπόταροι, etc. That it was also Phocian
is now seen from Delph. πενταμαριτεύων, δάρματα *SGDI*. 2561 D. 16, 37,
and φάρεν, φάρει of a fifth-century inscription *BCH*. XXIII (1899),
p. 611. If elsewhere in Delphian we find only the usual ερ this is due to
the same external influence which gradually brought about the elimina-
tion of αρ = ερ in Elean also, e. g., in the exile-decree, Solmsen, *Insc. select*.
40, ὕσταριν, but θηλυτέραν, περί, etc., and in the Damocrates decree, *SGDI*.
1172, always ερ. It is only natural, then, that this peculiarity of the
Northwest Greek dialects was also given up in the Northwest Greek
κοινή. But a form corresponding to Locr., Delph. ἀμάρα is preserved in
the Achaean Ζεὺς Ἀμάριος, Ἀθάνα Ἀμαρία *SGDI*. 1634 (see Ditt. *Syll*.[2]
229, note). ὕπαρ = ὕπερ is also Pamphylian *SGDI*. 1267. 2.

29. πάντοις = πᾶσι. The dative plural of consonant stems in -οις,
formed after the analogy of o-stems, is characteristic of Locrian, Elean
(but also -εσσι, see 65), and the Northwest Greek κοινή, through which
it gained a wide currency. The genuine Phocian form was -εσσι, as
shown by the earlier Delphian inscriptions (see 65). The forms in
-οις, which are frequent in the later inscriptions of Delphi (see Index to
SGDI.) and other parts of Phocis (e. g., Stiris *SGDI*. 1539; decree of the
Phocian league, Kern *Insc. von Magnesia* 34), are importations from
the Northwest Greek κοινή. There is no reason to doubt, in spite of
G. Meyer *Gr. Gram*.[3], p. 475, that this is true in general of the forms in
-οις cited by him from other parts of Greece, and which can now be

considerably augmented. But this belongs to the general question of the
spread of Northwest Greek κοινή forms through Aetolian influence, which
cannot be discussed in detail at this point.

30. στ = σθ. This spelling, the significance of which need not be dis-
cussed here (see Brugmann *Gr. Gram.*[3], p. 106), is regularly employed in
Locrian, e. g., ἑλέσται, ἁρέσται, etc., and in earlier Elean, e. g., λυσάστō,
χρέεσται, etc. (later ἀποδόσσαι, etc.). Elsewhere it is only occasional, but
it is significant that the earliest and the most numerous examples are in
Phocian, e. g., Delph. ἑλαξάστō in a fifth-century inscription, *BCH.* XXIII
(1899), p. 611, πρόστα *SGDI.* 2561 C. 40, and in later inscriptions γινέστω,
καταδουλισάστω, etc. (*SGDI.* Index, p. 185), Stir. θέστων, ἀποπολιτεύσασται
ibid. 1539. Cf. also Boeot. ἀπολογίτταστη, καταδουλίτταστη, etc., frequent
in inscriptions of Orchomenos, Thess. πεπείστειν *SGDI.* 345. 16 (but
otherwise σθ). There are scattering examples in many other parts of
Greece, even in Athens, most of them late (see G. Meyer *Gr. Gram.*[3],
p. 352; Schweizer *Gram. d. pergamen. Inschriften*, p. 129), but not all,
e. g., Cret. μιστός *SGDΓ.* 5125, Lac. ἀποστρυθέσται *ibid.* 4564. But these
do not lessen the significance of the especial frequency of στ in North-
west Greece.

31. Dative singular in -οι. The prevalence and significance of this
form is most difficult to determine. Owing to the lack of sufficient
material from both the earlier and later periods, and the ambiguity of the
pre-Ionic -οι, it is often impossible to say whether such a form is an
inherited locative or has been shortened from -ωι in the historical period
of a given dialect, or again is borrowed from another dialect. It can
hardly be claimed as a distinctive Northwest Greek characteristic. For
although it is Elean, as well as Arcadian and Boeotian, it is not found in
earlier Phocian (the earliest Delphian inscriptions in the Ionic alphabet
have -ωι), nor, so far as can be shown, in Locrian, though the usual tran-
scription of the Locr. -OI as -ωι is not based on any specific evidence. At
the same time it is clear that in the later period this dative in -οι had
considerable currency in Northwest Greece and adjacent regions. Aside
from Boeotian, where it is regular, examples occur in Acarnania (*SGDI.*
1379; but -ωι in the early fourth-century inscription of Stratus, *IG.* IX. i.
442), Epirus (*SGDI.* 1339; -οι and -ωι side by side), Aetolia (*ibid.* 1428. i),
Delphi (*ibid.* Index, p. 186; -ωι in earlier Delphian), Cierium in the Thes-
saliotis (Hoffmann II. 63, 64; but in the early Sotaerus inscription -OI is
to be transcribed -ōι, cf. ἐν ταγᾶ), and in Euboea with Oropus, where it
replaces earlier -ωι and without much doubt is due to the same shortening
seen in -ει from -ηι (see Hoffmann III, pp. 440 f.; Bechtel, p. v of the
preface to his publication of the Ionic inscriptions in *SGDI.*).

32. Accusative plural of consonant stems in -ες after the nominative.
This cannot be claimed as a general Northwest Greek characteristic, but
may be mentioned here, since, besides being the usual type in Elean and

Achaean, its probable starting-part, namely τέτορες used indeclinably like πέντε, etc. (Wackernagel *Indog. Forsch.* XIV, p. 368), is also early Delphian, as μνᾶς δεκατέτορες *SGDI.* 1683, and ὀδελὸς τέτορες Homolle *Mélanges Nicole*, p. 626. But otherwise Delphian has only the usual -ας (so even τέτορας usually), as Locrian always. On the other hand, the forms in -ές are found in late times in numerous dialects. See G. Meyer *Gr. Gram.*[3], p. 463; Dieterich, *Unters. zur Gesch. d. griech. Sprache*, pp. 156 f.

33. Ἱπποκλέας. Proper names in -κλέας are by far most frequent in Thessaly, but include also some Boeotians, Phocians, and Aetolians. See Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, p. 27, and Fick-Bechtel *Griech. Eigennamen*, pp. 29, 169, who explain -κλέας as formed from -κλος with the hypocoristic -έας. But instead of taking -κλος as an intermediate stage, why not assume a direct transfer from the uncontracted -κλέης, which is especially characteristic of Euboean? Note the distribution of the following.

34. Φιλώνδας. Patronymics in -ωνδας are nowhere else so common as in Boeotian (for the examples see Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, p. 105), but are not infrequent in Phocian and Euboean (-ωνδης). Thus Δεξώνδας, Ἐτυμώνδας, Ἱερώνδας, Κλεώνδας, Ξεννώνδας, Πατρώνδας, are Delphians, some of the names being of very frequent occurrence (see *SGDI.* Index, pp. 205 ff.), Ἀρχώνδας *ibid.* 2214. 19 is from Elatea, and Χαιρώνδας *ibid.* 2002. 9 from Ambryssus. For Euboean, cf. Eretr. Σιμώνδης, Ξενώνδμς, Μενώνδης, Στρατώνδης *SGDI.* 5313. 4, 32, 155–6, 236, 242, and other examples from Eretria, Styra, Histiaea, *ibid.* 5325, 5342, 5345, with notes. Τιμώνδας mentioned as one of the Ionian representatives on the amphyctionic council *SGDI.* 2504. 27 was doubtless from Euboea. And it is probably through the Chalcidian influence that -ωνδας, though with Doric ending, appears in Sicily, namely in Φιλώνδας Theocr. iv. 1, and Χαρώνδας, the name of the legislator of Catana and the other Chalcidian cities of Sicily and Italy (Plato *Rep.* x. 599 e, Arist. *Polit.* 1274 a). Thess. Λεσύνδας *SGDI.* 345. 68. A Sicyonian Δαιτώνδας is mentioned by Pausanias vi. 17. 5.

The parallel, but less common, -ονδας, is attested for Boeotian, Thessalian, and Euboean. See Schulze *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1897, p. 899.

35–39. These peculiarities, which are common to Thessalian and Boeotian but are not, like 60 ff., to be attributed to the Aeolic element in both, are given here for convenience.

35. ει = η, as μεί = μή.—36 θ for τ in third plural verb-endings. See above under 1. 1.—37. Διόσδοτος, Θεόσδοτος. See Solmsen *Rhein. Mus.* LIX (1904), pp. 498 ff.—38. γίννυμαι = γίγνομαι, e. g., Boeot. γινιούμενον *SGDI.* 385, Thess. γινύειτει *ibid.* 345. 22, 45.—39. ἔλεξε = εἶπε. Boeotian and Thessalian decrees regularly have ἔλεξε where εἶπε is used in Attic and elsewhere.

East Greek

40–44. Some of the most marked characteristics of Attic-Ionic.

40. η from ā.—**41.** λεώς. This stands for quantitative metathesis in general. The phenomenon as a whole is distinctly Attic-Ionic, though its details are not always identical in the two dialects.—**42.** ἡμεῖς. This stands for the secondary formation of the nominative and accusative plural of the personal pronouns, namely, nom. -εῖς, acc. -έας, -ᾶς, where other dialects have nom. -ες, acc. -έ, as West Greek ἁμές (ἀμές), ἀμέ, Lesb. ἄμμες, ἄμμε, Thess. ἀμμέ. In Arcado-Cyprian examples are lacking.—**43.** ἔθηκεν. The ν-movable in the verbal endings -εν, -σιν occurs in the earliest Attic and Ionic inscriptions, but in other dialects is wholly unknown until a late period, and is a sure sign of κοινή influence. In the dative plural it is almost, but not quite, confined to Attic-Ionic, examples occurring in Heraclean (ἔντασσιν) and Thessalian (χρέμασιν in the Sotaerus inscription).—**44.** ἔθεσαν. The extension of -σαν from the σ-aorist to forms like ἔθεσαν, ἔδοσαν, ἐτίθεσαν, ἐλύθησαν, etc., is peculiar to Attic-Ionic. Most other dialects have the more original ἔθεν, ἔδον, etc., while another secondary formation is seen in Boeot. ἀνέθιαν, Cypr. κατέθιjαν, Thess. ὀνεθείκαεν, etc.

45–48. Attic-Ionic and Arcadian (-Cyprian) characteristics.

45. εἰ. The conditional conjunction is εἰ only in Attic-Ionic and Arcadian; ἤ in Cyprian (it occurs also in Heraclean and Cretan, but not as the simple conditional); αἰ in all other dialects, namely Lesbian, Boeotian, Thessalian, and the West Greek dialects.

46. ἄν. In all dialects but Attic-Ionic and Arcadian the particle corresponding in use to ἄν is κε or κα. See above, 8. Even in Arcadian κε must have been employed once, as in Cyprian, and after its function was usurped by ἄν, it still appeared between εἰ and ἄν, where hiatus would otherwise result, e. g., εἰ κ' ἄν beside εἰ δ' ἄν. The introduction of ἄν, and perhaps of εἰ, both of which are Arcadian, but not Cyprian, is very probably to be ascribed to the influence (prehistoric) of the Ionic population which there is every reason to believe once occupied a part of the eastern coast of the Peloponnesus.

47. Infinitive in -ναι. Attic-Ionic εἶναι, δοῦναι, etc., Arc. ἦναι, etc., Cypr. δοϝέναι, κυμερέναι. For the infinitive of such unthematic forms all other dialects have -μεν or closely related forms (-μην, -μειν, -μεναι).

48–54. Characteristics peculiar to Arcado-Cyprian.[1]

48. ἰν=ἐν. This appears uniformly in Arcadian and Cyprian, both alone and in compounds, and shows a change of εν to ιν which is now paralleled by ἀπεχομινος, ἀπυδεδομιν[ος=ἀπεχομένους, ἀποδεδομένους, in the

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[1] To these should perhaps have been added the proper names in -κρέτης = -κράτης, which are usual in Arcadian and Cyprian (Hoffmann I, pp. 141 f.) but not surely attested elsewhere, though κρέτος is Lesbian (Hoffmann II, p. 309). A new example is Σακρέτης from Lusi, *Wiener Jahresheft* IV (1901), p. 65.

early Mantinean inscription, Fougères *Mantinée*, pp. 523 ff., though its precise conditions are still obscure (cf. ἐδικάσαμεν in the same inscription). Elsewhere ἰν is very rare, occurring only in some Cretan inscriptions of Eleutherna, and Vaxus, *SGDI.* 4954 (ἰνῆμεν), *ibid.* 5125 (ἰν beside ἐν, ἴναντι; cf. ἰσς=ἐς, ἰς also in 5128), *ibid.* 5148. 8, and in an Achaean inscription, *SGDI.* 1643, according to the reading δὸς δὲ ϝ' ἰν ἀνθρόποις (see Schulze *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1890, col. 1439).

49. Genitive singular in -αυ. This -ᾱυ from -ᾱο is simply the most frequent and uniform manifestation of a change of final *o* to *v*, which in the case of ἀπύ=ἀπό is also Lesbian and Thessalian (see p. 274), but in the main is specifically Arcado-Cyprian, as in Arc. ἄλλυ=ἄλλο (also κατύ formed after ἀπύ), Cypr. γένοιτυ, ἐϝρετάσατυ with middle ending -τυ=-το. Cf. also, though not a case of final *o*, Cypr. ὐνέθεκε beside ὀνέθεκε, and Arc. ὐνέθυσε (see *Ath. Mitth.* XXI (1896), pp. 240 ff. and especially *ibid.* XXX (1905), pp. 65 f.),[1] both with ὐν from ὀν=ἀνά (see 68). The Pamphylian change of *o* to *v* is not parallel, being of much wider scope.

50. πός=πρός. This has the East Greek σ, but otherwise goes with ποτί rather than with προτί, πρός. See above, under 1. 4.

51. σὶς=τὶς. σὶς is the regular form in Cyprian (once τὶ in a metrical inscription), and in Arcadian σὶς and εἶσε occur in the early Mantinean inscription, Fougères *Mantinée*, pp. 523 ff., the sibilant in these words being differentiated from the ordinary σ by the use of a simplified form of the san instead of the usual sigma. All other inscriptions have only τὶς. Compare also the Arcadian glosses ζέρεθρον = δέρεθρον and ζέλλω = δέλλω against the inscriptional ἐσδέλλοντες. Brugmann *Gr. Gram.*[3], p. 116 is inclined to assume a local variation within Arcadian. I believe on the contrary that the sibilant pronunciation was characteristic of Arcadian in general, as of Cyprian, and that τὶς and also καί (see below), though appearing too early to be due to the κοινή, are nevertheless due to external influence. But this involves a general problem of the early elimination of certain dialectic peculiarities by external influence, which I hope to discuss elsewhere.

52. κάς=καί. This, with occasional κα, is the regular form in Cyprian, but in Arcadian is quotable only from the early Mantinean inscription just cited, all other sources showing only καί. I assume that κάς was once general Arcadian as well as Cyprian, and was supplanted by καί under external influence. See above.

53. ὄνυ=ὅδε. Cypr. ὀνυ, τόν(ν)υ, Arc. τάνυ, τῶννυ, this last from the Mantinean inscription just cited. Here belong also τάννυν, τόσνυν in the late and mixed Arcadian inscription from Megalopolis, Kern *Inscr. von*

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[1] I have no doubt whatever that *IGA.* 556 ϙομάρας ὐνέθε̄κε is also Arcadian, though the object may have reached the antiquarian market by way of Sparta or Elis, assuming that either of the two divergent reports as to its provenance is to be trusted.

Magnesia 38. 48, 49=Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 258, only they are written here as if containing νυν, like τίς νυν, τοίνυν.

54. Dative with ἀπύ, etc. The dative instead of the usual genitive construction is attested for both Arcadian and Cyprian after ἀπύ, ἐξ, and περί, and for Arcadian, examples being lacking in Cyprian, after ὑπέρ and ὑπό. To the examples with ἀπύ, ἐξ, and in Arcadian with περί, which are given by Hoffmann I, pp. 307, 311, add now Arc. περὶ τοινί and ὑπὸ ταῖ πόλι from Kern *Inscr. von Magnesia* 38, 31, 47 (also in l. 8 περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάνσιν διαλεχθέσσι, with confusion of the Arcadian and normal Greek construction), and ὑπὲρ ταῖ τᾶς πόλιος ἐλευθερίαι *BCH.* XVI (1892), p. 543. A similar construction in Pamphylian, and in Boeot. προτηνί, i. e., πρὸ ται-νί (*sc.* ἀμέραι), according to Meister *Sitzungsber. d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1904, p. 9.

55–65. Aeolic characteristics.

55. ἐμμί, στάλλα. This stands for the whole group of words in which Lesbian and Thessalian show double nasals and liquids resulting from various consonant groups which in all other dialects yield a single nasal or liquid with lengthening of the preceding vowel, if short. For material, including, however, some that does not belong here, see Hoffmann II, pp. 479 ff.

Solmsen, *Rhein. Mus.* LVIII (1903), p. 623, note, suggests that the name of the mythical Ἰμμάραδος of Eleusis (Paus. i. 5. 2; 27. 4; 38. 3) belongs here and is evidence of a time when Aeolic was spoken in this region. See below, 65, on the Aeolic element in Corinth.

56. ἴα=μία. This is found only in Lesbian, Thessalian, and in Homer. Cretan ἰός, though doubtless related in form, is not a numeral, but has about the force of ἐκεῖνος. See *Class. Phil.* I, pp. 409 ff.

57. ι > ι̯. The consonantal pronunciation of antevocalic ι, which might occur anywhere in rapid speech, was especially characteristic of Lesbian and Thessalian, as manifested by the following phenomena. (1) Lesb. ζ from δι in ζά, κάρζα, Ζόννυσος, all from glosses or late inscriptions, the usual inscriptional spelling being διά, etc. Ζιονύ(σιος) on a coin of Phocaea and other forms with ζ from Phocaean colonies in Sicily are among the linguistic evidences of what is naturally assumed from its situation, namely that Phocaea was originally Aeolic, not Ionic. The name of the Locrian Ζάλευκος may also be Aeolic. See Solmsen, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXIV, pp. 554 ff. and *Rhein. Mus.* LIX, p. 493, footnote. Cf. also Cypr. κορζία· καρδία (Hesych.), etc. (2) Lesb. μέτερρος (Herodian) =μέτριος, the development being τρι > το̯ι > τερ̯ι > τερρ. For other examples, see Hoffmann II, pp. 320 f. (3) Thess. doubling of consonants before ι, which may then be retained or omitted in the spelling, e. g., ἰδδίαν, πόλλιος, ἀργύρροι beside ἀργύριοι, κύρρον beside κύριον, Μνασσᾶ= Μνασία, γυμνασσιαρχείσαντα, etc. See Solmsen *Rhein. Mus.* LVIII, p. 612, with the literature cited. (4) Omission of ι, e. g., Lesb. ἄργυρα=ἀργύρια,

Thess. τρακάδι=τριακάδι, Διοννύσσοι=Διοννυσίοι, etc. The supposed Boeotian parallels, Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, pp. 12 f., are doubtful. See Solmsen *Rhein. Mus.* LIX, pp. 492 ff.

58. καλέσσαι. The extension of σσ from τελέσσαι, etc., to short-vowel stems, as in καλέσσαι, ὁμόσσαι, etc., which has long been known as Lesbian and Homeric (see Schulze *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXIII, pp. 126 ff.), is now attested for Boeotian also by σουνκαλέσσαντες, *Rev. ét. grec.* XII (1899), pp. 69 ff. In Thessalian there are no such forms, on the contrary ὁμόσαντες beside πάντεσσι, etc., which keep σσ uniformly.

59. φερέμεν. The extension of -μεν from τιθέμεν, etc., to thematic forms is as regular in Boeotain, as φερέμεν, γραφέμεν, etc., and in Thessalian of the Pelasgiotis, as ὑπαρχέμεν, πρασσέμεν, etc., while in the Thessaliotis we find the usual thematic formation as ἔχειν ἐξξανακάδεν. Since εἰπέμεν, εἰπέμεναι occur also in Homer, we may reckon this among the Aeolic elements of Boeotian and Thessalian, in spite of the fact that Lesbian inscriptions have only ἔχην, etc.

60. ρε for ρι. An open pronunciation of ι after ρ in Lesbian and Thessalian is indicated by occasional spellings, such as Lesb. Δαμοκρέτω, Thess. κρεννέμεν. For other examples see Hoffmann II, p 320. A probable example of the same thing in Boeotian is τρέπεδδα, which occurs beside τράπεδδα. Cf. Hesych. τρίπεζαν· τὴν τράπεζαν. Βοιωτοί. So Schulze *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1897, p. 904. El. πόλερ=πόλις with ε before ρ, like αρ from ερ, probably has no genetic connection with the preceding, although physiologically related. Lesb. κέρνᾶν=κιρνάναι owes its κερ to ἐκέρασα, etc.

61. πέμπε = πέντε. This stands for the representation of an original labio-velar (likewise palatal + u) before a front vowel by a labial instead of a dental, as in Lesb., Thess. πέμπε = πέντε, Lesb. πέσσυρες, Hom. πίσυρες, Boeot. πέτταρες = τέτταρες, etc. Examples are so numerous in Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian, as to show that this is a phonetic development characteristic of these dialects, although the reasons for the divergent treatment in certain words, as τὶς, τε, τῑμά, etc., are still not satisfactorily cleared up. But Cypr. πείσει = τείσει is to be classed rather with the isolated instances of analogical substitution, such as may be found in any dialect (Att. βέλος, etc.). For all other evidence indicates that Arcado-Cyprian did not share in this Aeolic peculiarity.

The Thessalian examples are not only from the Pelasgiotis, but also from the Thessaliotis, e. g., in the Sotaerus inscription βελφαίο̄ =*Δελφαίου, Δελφινίου (cf. Lesb., Boeot. βελφοί=Δελφοί). In certain Boeotian proper names, such as Τειλεφάνεις beside Πειλεμάχω etc., Solmsen, *Rhein. Mus.* LIX, pp. 481 ff., thinks we should recognize forms inherited from the West-Greek constituent of the dialect and existing beside the usual Aeolic. But none of the clear examples are old enough to preclude the other possibility, also recognized by Solmsen, that they are due to the influence of the forms current in most other dialects and in the

κοινή. And in the present state of the evidence this appears to me more probable.

62. Perfect participle in -ων. The thematic inflection of the perfect active participle, as in Hom. κεκλήγοντες, is regular in Lesbian, Boeotian, and Thessalian (both East and West), e. g., Lesb. κατεληλύθοντος, Boeot. ϝεϝυκονομειόντουν, δεδώωση (nom. pl. fem.), Thess. πεφειράκοντες (Larissa), ἐπεστάκοντα (Cierium), etc. The feminine forms in -ονσα which occur elsewhere, e. g., δεδωκούσας in later Delphian, represent a more restricted phenomenon which is quite independent of the preceding. See Solmsen *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXIX, p. 215.

A late inscription of Cyrene published by Fränkel, from a copy of Fourmont, in the *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1903, pp. 83 ff., contains προγεγονοίσαις, which is identical with the Lesbian feminine forms, even to the οισ from ονσ, of which the present participle ἀνήκοισαν in the same inscription furnishes another example. But, while the previously known τελεσφορέντες (see 69) has prepared us for "Aeolisms" in the widest sense at Cyrene, that is, characteristics which are Achaean as well as Aeolic, I see no possibility of viewing προγενοίσαις in the same light, since neither the thematic inflection of the perfect participle nor the change of ονσ to οις can be Achaean (cf. Arcadian), and the latter is not even common to the Aeolic dialects but purely Lesbian (in Elean only in the case of final -νς). One would have to assume rather, with Fränkel, *loc. cit.*, that there were Aeolians from Lesbos or vicinity among the islanders who, according to Herod. iv. 161, formed part of the population of Cyrene. But I cannot conceal my suspicion that the language of the inscription in question, which belongs to the Roman period, is artificial, and that, while it contains genuine native forms, as the accusative plural in -ος, the participles cited no more belong to the dialect of Cyrene than do ἄμμε, διαλεχθέσσι, etc. in the Megalopolis inscription, Kern *Inschr. von Magnesia* 38, to Arcadian.

63. The use of the patronymic adjective instead of the genitive singular of the father's name. This is a characteristic of Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian, of which there are almost countless examples. For certain general classes of exceptions, see especially Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, pp. 17 ff., Solmsen *Rhein. Mus.* LVIII, pp. 603 ff., LIX, pp. 596 ff. There are also some instances of the use of the genitive in Thessalian and Boeotian which Solmsen, *loc. cit.*, ascribes to the non-Aeolic, West Greek, element in these dialects, and in the case of Thessalian he thinks that this non-Aeolic type prevailed in the West. But, while for several other phenomena he has clearly established such a distribution, the material is not sufficiently decisive here. The Sotaerus inscription has the genitive, but until there is additional evidence that this represents the normal type in the Thessaliotis, it will not be clear that the numerous examples of the patronymic in later inscriptions of Cierium itself, in Pharsalus, etc., are late encroachments from the East.

In Thessalian and Boeotian there are also examples of such adjectives being used in agreement with appellatives, in place of a genitive of possession, as Thess. Πολυξεναία ἐμμί (sc. ἀ στάλλα) Hoffmann II. 42, Boeot. Γοργίνιός ἐμὶ ὁ κότυλος Rolfe *Harvard Studies* II, p. 89, Καλ(λ)αία ἐμὶ (sc. ἀ κύλιξ) τῶ κέντρονος (note the genitive in apposition with that implied by the adjective) Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, p. 243 (where two other examples are cited),

64. ἀγρέω=αἱρέω. Lesb. ἀγρέθεντες *SGDI*. 214. 33, ἀγρέθεντα *ibid*. 215. 49, ἀγρέσιος *ibid*. 215. 31 (reading not quite certain, but γ probable). καταγρέντον *ibid*. 214. 15, προαγρημμένω *ibid*. 311. 6; καταγ[ρέ]θηι *ibid*. 213. 13 (where the far less probable καταγ[νώ]θηι is given in the text; καταγ[ρέ]θηι is preferred in *IG*. XII. ii. 1). Elean ἐξαγρέον *SGDI*. 1156. The Thessalian form is ἀνγρέω with unexplained nasal and spiritus asper (contamination with some other verb ?), seen in ἐφανγρένθειν *SGDI*. 345. 41, προανγρέσ[ι] *ibid*. 361 B. 14, ἀνγρέσιος Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1901, p. 134.

All these are precisely equivalent in meaning to the corresponding forms of αἱρέω and its derivatives, except that Thess. ἐφανγρένθειν has a force which is not quotable for the rare ἐφαιρέομαι, namely, =ἐπιλαμβάνονται, κατηγοροῦνται (cf. κατηγορεῖν in l. 38). It is this use of the verb as a substitute for the αἱρέω of other dialects, and not the mere form ἀγρέω, that is of significance. This has been very properly emphasized by Schulze *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1897, p. 875, but has been ignored in most discussions. So Gerstenhauer "De Alcaei et Sapphonis copia vocabulorum" (*Diss. Hal.* XII, pp. 178 ff.) says: "ἀγρεῖν non solum apud Aeolos, sed omnibus in dialectis praeter usitatius αἱρεῖν vetere aetate usurpatum esse iam pridem cognitum est." But of the forms cited by Bergk *Griech. Litteraturgeschichte* I, p. 58, note, and others, most of them glosses, some are clearly derived from ἀγρέω in its original, pregnant, sense of 'catch, seize,' e. g., Boeot. ἀγρεμόνες· θηρευταί (Hesych.), and in some the force of the verb is quite obscure. The force of αἱρέω is beyond question in παλινάγρετος Hom., Hes., etc., αὐτάγρετος Hom., Simon. Am. and αὐταγρεσίη Callim., but it is quite possible that these poetical forms, as well as the use of ἀγρέω in Archil. 4. 3 and Aesch. *Ag.* 126 (lyric passage), are of Aeolic origin. The meaning 'choose' seems also most appropriate in Lac. ἱππαγρέται, and Coan ἀγρεταί, if properly defined by Hesychius. (For Lac. ἱππαγρέται and some others, Schulze *loc. cit.* assumes ἀγρέω = ἄγω, as in Hom. ἄγρει. But the exclamatory ἄγρει in Homer, though equivalent to ἄγε, need not be separated from ἀγρέω 'catch,' and does not entitle us to assume that the verb was otherwise used in the sense of ἄγω.) It is quite possible that in various dialects ἀγρέω was occasionally used in the sense of αἱρέω. But there is no evidence as yet that it was the regular substitute for it in any other dialects than Lesbian, Thessalian, and Elean.

65. ποδέσσι. I have discussed the distribution of this type of dative in the *Class. Rev.* XIX (1905), pp. 249 ff., and have shown that, while it

is often spoken of as Doric as well as Aeolic, the only occurrences in Doric are from Corinthian colonies. But in place of the suggestion that these might be due to a popular adoption of the epic form, I would now prefer a privately expressed opinion of Solmsen, that they represent an Aeolic element in Corinthian, which the statement of Thuc. iv. 42, Δωριῆς τὸ πάλαι ἱδρυθέντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει Κορινθίοις ἐπολέμουν οὖσιν Αἰολεῦσι, justifies us in assuming.

This is the only one of the Aeolic peculiarities given in the chart which is found in Phocian. For some other possible traces of an Aeolic element in Phocian (ταγός, δίδημι, κεραίομαι), see Solmsen *Kühn's Zeitsch.* XXXIV, p. 555, XXXIX, pp. 212, 216.

66–71. These peculiarities are "Aeolic" in the widest sense, that is Aeolic and Achaean (Arcado-Cyprian), some of them appearing also as survivals in certain West Greek dialects.

66. δέκοτος=δέκατος. This is Arcadian and Lesbian, as confirmed now by *IG.* XII. ii. 82. It is presumably Cyprian also, and possibly Thessalian, but examples are lacking. Arcadian has also δέκο(δυόδεκο) and ἑκοτόν, both in Hoffmann I. 29, and Lesbian also ἐνο[τος] *IG.* XII. ii. 83. In the note to *IG.* XII. ii. 82 the editor speaks of E standing for ἑκοτον. It is probable that this was the Lesbian form, but, so far as I know, it is not quotable. Many class δέκοτος with στρότος, etc. (below, 70), but as the matter is uncertain, I have preferred to give it a separate place. Aside from the theory of assimilation, which is unsatisfactory, it is possible to regard the o as a further extension of the analogical o which is more widespread in the case of εἴκοσι (2).

67. ὀν(ὑν)=ἀνά. ὀν- is the usual form in Lesbian, Thessalian (Pelasgiotis; ἀν- in the Thessaliotis, as Hoffmann II. 63 from Cierium, *Mon. Antichi.* VIII (1898), p. 66 from Pharsalus), and Cyprian, while ὑν- from ὀν- occurs once in Cyprian, and in Arcadian. See 49. Examples of ἀνά in these dialects are due to κοινή influence. This ὀν is often grouped with cases like στρότος, etc. (below, 70), and perhaps correctly.

68. ἀπύ=ἀπό. See 49.

69. φίλημι. The unthematic inflection of the contract verbs, often known as the Aeolic inflection, is characteristic of Lesbian, Thessalian (Pelasgiotis; but ηὐλορέοντος in the Sotaerus inscription and so perhaps regularly in the Thessaliotis), Arcadian, and Cyprian. For material, to which some additions can now be made, as Arc. κνένσαν Ἐφ Ἀρχ., 1898, pp. 248 ff., ποίενσι Kern *Inschr. von Magnesia* 38. 34, see Hoffmann I, pp. 263 ff., II, pp. 574 ff. The supposed Boeotian forms of this type quoted from grammarians by Meister I, pp. 276 ff., find no support in the inscriptions, which show the usual type (στραταγίοντος, etc.). φίλειμι, ποίειμι, etc., are simply Lesbian forms put into Boeotian spelling and are no more genuine than ἴστειμι. The "Aeolic" οἴκεντι, φίλαντι, while they cannot be Lesbian, need not therefore be Boeotian. They may be Thessalian.

τελεσφορέντες in an inscription of Cyrene *SGDI*. 4837, represents a direct importation from Arcadia according to Blass *SGDI*. III, p. 195, who supposes that the Peloponnesian colonists, who with the Cretans constituted the second phyle established by Demonax (Herod. iv. 161(,consisted largely of Arcadians.   But it is at least equally probable that the type was brought to Cyrene by the original colonists from Thera, and is to be added to the other evidences of a pre-Doric (Achaean) element in Thera.   The fact that no such forms are quotable from Thera itself is not a serious objection to this view, in the meager state of the material.

In Elean, which otherwise has the usual thematic inflection (ποιέον, ποιέοι, etc.) occur also συλαίε, and, in the amnesty-decree, Solmsen *Insc. select*. 40, δαμοσιοία (=-οιη) and δαμοσιῶμεν.   The two optatives may be viewed in the same light as Attic-Ionic μισθοίην, etc. (Brugmann *Gr. Gram*.³, pp. 339 f.), and so do not necessarily imply the existence of the more general unthematic type.   The infinitive in -ωμεν, which is seen also in Cret. [δ]αμιόμεν, ζαμιῶμεν *SGDI*. 4985, 5125, perhaps also represents a restricted extension of unthematic forms, the limits of which are not yet clear.

70. στροτός=στρατός.   This stands for the whole series of forms in which ρο or ορ, λο or ολ, appear in place of usual ρα, αρ, λα, αλ.   The most numerous examples are in Lesbian, for which see Hoffmann II, pp. 355 ff.   There are also some few Homeric forms which belong here, as ἤμβροτον=ἤμαρτον (Lesb. ἀμβρ[ό]την Hoffmann II. 82 is surely =ἁμαρτεῖν), probably ἄορ, ἀορτήρ (see Solmsen *Untersuchungen zu griech. Laut- und Verslehre*, p. 292).[1] στροτός is attested for Boeotian by στροτιώτης, ἐστροτεύαθη, and numerous proper names (see Index to *IG*. VII); στραταγίοντος and names containing στρατός, while conceivably the West Greek forms, are best attributed to κοινή influence.   πόρνοψ=πάρνοψ is quoted as Boeotian by Strabo xiii. 613.   ἐροτός=ἐρατός and βροχύς=βραχύς are attested by proper names in both Boeotian and Thessalian.   See Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial*., pp. 10 f.   πορνάμεν· πωλεῖν from Hesychius is claimed as Thessalian by Schulze *Gött. gel. Anz*., 1897, p. 873, but I see no reason why it may not equally well be Boeotian or taken from some literary Aeolic source (with -μεν, as in Homer, beside -μεναι).   In Arcadian we have ἐφθορκώς=ἐφθαρκώς, and πανάγορσις=πανήγυρις, with which compare West Ion., ἄγαρρις *IG*. XIV. 759 (Naples).   Cyprian κατέϝοργον is probably *κατέϝαργον, aorist of *κατ-εϝέργω (κατείργω).   Hesychius cites κορζία= καρδία and στροπά=ἀστραπή as Cyprian (also στορπά as Arcadian).

Some similar forms occur also in West Greek dialects, especially derivatives of γράφω.   Thus γροφεύς in Elis (beside γράφος), Argolis (Argos, Mycenae, Epidaurus), and in Sicyon (Kern *Inschr. von Magnesia*, p. 41);

[1] Here belongs βροτός for *βρατός (cf. Skt. mṛtá-). As a purely poetical word it has survived only in its Homeric, that is, in this case Aeolic, form. μορτός (Hesych., Callim.) is probably also Aeolic.

in Argolis also γροφίς, γροφεύω, ἀγγροφά, ἐγγροφά, σύγγροφος (see especially
IG. IV. 1484, 1485 from Epidaurus) but γράσσμα = γράμμα; Heracl. ἀνεπί-
γροφος; Cret. ἀπόγροφον, ἔγγροφον; Mel. Γρόφων (so, not γρόφων, in *SGDI*
4871, no less than in 4872; see following).   But we find only γραφ- in
verb-forms, even in the same inscriptions which contain nouns in γροφ-.
Cf. also Cret., Epid. καταλοβεύς 'support' = *καταλαβεύς, and Cret. ἀβλοπία
= ἀβλαβία (cf. Hesychius ἀβλοπές· ἀβλαβές, Κρῆτες).

The uncertainty as to the real history of forms like στροτός (see Brug-
mann *Gr. Gram.*³, p. 68 with literature cited) makes it difficult to decide
whether all the examples cited are of equal significance.   Many of them,
considered by themselves, might easily be regarded as inherited o-grade
forms.   But it is obvious that where the examples are so numerous as in
Lesbian some special phonetic development must be involved, though
the more precise conditions are still obscure.   And I am fully satisfied
that not only the Boeotian and Thessalian, but also the Arcadian and
Cyprian examples, are to be viewed in the same light.   In the case of
γροφεύς, etc., there is more ground for the suspicion of having to do
merely with an inherited o-grade, partly because of their provenance,
partly because of the restriction to derivatives.   Nevertheless I am in-
clined to believe that the resemblance of these forms to those in Les-
bian, etc., is not accidental, and to reckon them among the pre-Doric
survivals in West Greek.

It is still more difficult to estimate the significance of certain other
forms which show o in place of usual a.   Thus, besides Lesb., Arc. δέκοτος,
Arc. ἡεκοτόν, etc., and Lesb., Thess., Arc., Cypr., ὀν = ἀνά, which have been
mentioned above (66, 67), we find Heracl. τοφιών 'grave,' Delph.
ἐντοφήμα 'burial rites' (cf. τάφος), and κοθαρός = καθαρός in Heracl., Sybaris,
Locr. (Περφοθαριᾶν), κόθαρσις in Elean.

71.   πεδά = μετά.   This is Lesbian, Boeotian, Arcadian (presumably
also Thessalian and Cyprian, but not yet quotable), Argive, Cretan, and
Theran.   In all these it is clearly the genuine form of the dialect, being
displaced by μετά only in later times under κοινή influence.   Πεδαγείτνιος
or Πεταγείτνιος = Att. Μεταγείτνιος is also Megarian, Rhodian, Coan, and
Calymnian, which have only μετά used alone, though all examples are
late enough to be κοινή.   For full material see Miss Kellermann *Syntax
of Some Prepositions in the Greek Dialects*, pp. 56 ff., supplementing the
Argive examples by πεδ᾽ ιαρόν, πεδάγαγον, *BCH.* XXVII (1903), pp. 270 ff.

The distribution of πεδά and μετά, forms of totally distinct origin, may,
of course, be accidental, but is such as to make probable at least the
view, long since urged by Hoffmann *De mixtis Graec. ling. dial.*, p. 8,
that the preference for πεδά was an Aeolic-Achaean characteristic, and
is to be regarded as a pre-Doric survival in Argos, Crete, etc.

FIELD MUSEUM INSCRIPTIONS

By Edgar J. Goodspeed

The Field Columbian Museum has recently received from Mr.
S. L. James, of Chicago, a collection of Egyptian antiquities.
(Accession 955). These objects were secured by Mr. James's
father in the course of a visit to Egypt made some years ago, and
were sent by him to Chicago, where they remained stored away
until his death in 1903, when his heirs turnéd them over to the
Field Museum. From certain tickets and papers accompanying
the collection it appears that it was formerly located at Sidi Gâber,
between Alexandria and Ramleh, where it was exhibited in con-
nection with a reputed Tomb of Cleopatra.[1] Doubtless some
woman of that name was buried there, witness the first inscription
that appears below. The chief treasure of the collection is a
superb stone sarcophagus of the first century after Christ. Among
the objects included in the collection three or four are of interest
for Greek and Latin epigraphy.

1. Marble tablet with epitaph. (26767). 12.5×26×2.2 cm.
Found probably near Sidi Gâber about 1888. The upper right
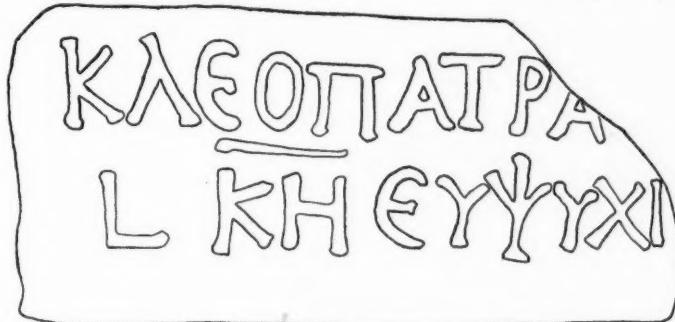
Κλεοπάτρα
(ἐτῶν) κη εὐψύχι.

[1] On ancient tombs near Sidi Gâber cf. H. Thiersch *Zwei Grabanlagen bei
Alexandria* (Berlin: Reimer, 1904); also *American Journal of Archaeology*, II Series,
VIII, p. 468. The tombs there described are assigned to early Ptolemaic times.

hand corner is broken off, but no letters seem to have been lost. The letters are rudely cut.

It would seem to have been this tablet that encouraged the Egyptian owners of the collection to describe the site where they exhibited it as the tomb of Cleopatra. The disposition to connect Sidi Gâber with the name of Cleopatra appears also in the proposed identification of the colossal Osiris and Isis heads, said to have been found there sixty years ago and still lying in a field there, as representing Antony and Cleopatra.

L. 2. L. εὐψύχει "farewell" as frequently in mummy labels and epitaphs; cf. Εὐψύχει, Βάσιλλα· οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος. (*Anthol. Pal.* 402.)

2. Marble fragments 5×7 cm. Found probably near Sidi Gâber, about 1888.


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                . . . .
           ] . [
          ]CЄBA[
          ]ЄШC[
          ]AC[
                . . . .
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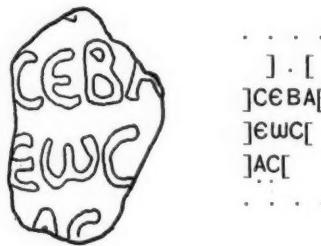
Lines 2–3 may represent

$$\sigma\epsilon\beta a[\sigma\tau o\hat{v}$$
$$\beta a\sigma\iota\lambda]\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma \ [$$

but other restorations are quite as possible.

Line 4 should perhaps be read]λε[

3. Fragment of bluish marble, from the top of a tablet, of which the molded upper edge is preserved. (26766.) Cm. 17.8×7.6×6.3. Found probably near Sidi Gâber, about 1888.
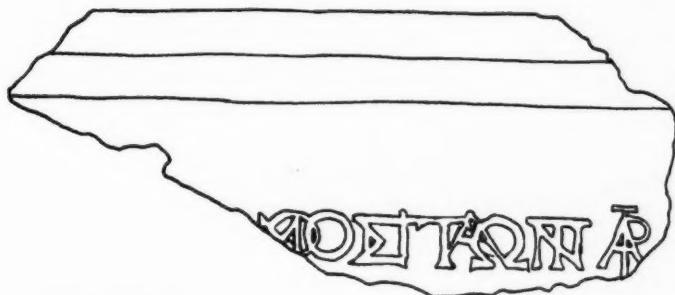
]ΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ Α[

]ΟΠΑΤΡ   The latter inscription is in larger letters, less deeply
cut, and was perhaps the earlier.   The former suggests ὁ δῆ]μος
τῶν ’Α[λεξανδρέων, and the tablet may have recorded a decree of
Alexandria.

4. Stamped brick.   (26768).   Roman.   Color, light reddish-
brown.   Second century A. D.   12×13×4 cm.

Op(us) dol(iare) ex f(iglinis) Domit(ianis) maior(ibus).

Cf. *CIL*. XV. I.   No. 169 *a* (p. 56) of the same volume
has this stamp, of which eleven specimens are there noted.   The

date is in the time of Marcus or Commodus, 161–93 A. D. (p. 46). The emblem in the center is a dog or wolf. The crescent measures 10.7 cm. in diameter. This stamp does not appear among those recently found in the débris of a part of the Aurelian Wall at Rome, and catalogued by Messrs. Pfeiffer, Van Buren and Armstrong ("Stamps on Bricks and Tiles from the Aurelian Wall at Rome," *Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome* I, pp. 1–86).

While this stamped brick came to the Field Museum as part of Mr. James's Egyptian collection, and thus presumably from Sidi Gâber near Ramleh, it is altogether probable that the brick was secured by Mr. James himself in the vicinity of Rome, and simply forwarded with the Egyptian collection to Chicago. Not a few of the registered specimens of this type were found, it would appear, at about the time of Mr. James's visit to Rome.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

TRAVEL IN ANCIENT TIMES AS SEEN IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE. II

By Charles Knapp

War travel.—A good deal of travel was done in connection with warfare. As one notes the allusions in Plautus and Terence to the miles gloriosus or to the young men who go campaigning, he recalls the expeditions described in the Greek historians, and begins to realize the extent to which the citizen soldiery of Athens and the soldier of fortune became acquainted, through wars, with the outside world.

According to the *Captivi* the Aetolians are at war with the Eleans (24, 25, 58 ff., 93–96, 246, 330, etc.). The Aetolians had made a raid into Elis and had taken many prisoners; the Eleans, too, had taken captives. Among the latter is Philopolemus, Hegio's son (24–26, 94–102, 330–36, etc.). Hegio buys Elean captives, hoping to find some one for whom he can exchange his son (27–34, 110–15, 125–27, 508–13, 752, 767). With two of the captives thus purchased the play is concerned (27–34, 98–101, 110–15, etc.). Presently, by arrangement with Hegio, one of the captives departs for Elis to effect the desired exchange (330–413, 432–38, 449 ff., etc.). He succeeds in his mission, brings back Hegio's captive son, and returns to Aetolia, all in one day (872–94, 922–1029).[1]

In *Cur.* 438–48 Curculio explains why the miles has not come in person for the meretrix: "It is only three days since the soldier and I arrived in Caria from India; he stayed there to have a statue of himself . . . . set up to commemorate his exploits, because Persas, Paphlagonas, Sinopas, Arabos, Caras, Cretanos, Syros, Rhodiam, atque Lyciam, Perediam et Perbibesiam, Centauromachiam et Classiam Unomammiam, Libyamque oram omnem, omnem Conterebromniam, dimidiam partem nationum usque omnium subegit solus intra viginti dies." The parasite talks in

[1] In the *Amphitruo* constant reference is made to war between Thebes and the Teloboae (188–262, 100–41, 413–19, etc.).

the spirit of the miles gloriosus; Lyco's comment is nugas blatis (452).[1] In 392–400 the parasite is hailed as unoculus; in 505, 543, 546 he is luscus. Cf. his explanation: catapulta hoc ictum est mihi apud Sicyonem (394); in 399, 400 he hints that he had suffered thus ob rem publicam, though Lyco suggests a different explanation in 395, 396.

According to *Ep.* 46, 206, 271, 272, 414–16, 508, 509, Stratippocles has been with the Athenian army on a campaign to Thebes; meanwhile he sent letters repeatedly to Athens (see below, under "Letters"). For his return see 41 ff., 104 ff., 156, 157, 414–16, for his slave's, 1–24. See also 273. The army, too, is back, disbanded (208–12); the streets are full of soldiers, arma and iumenta (209), and captives (210, 211). People are out to greet their sons (211, 212); the meretrices are welcoming the soldiers (213–22, 236–53). At Thebes, Stratippocles had bought a captive from the booty of this campaign, for forty minae (43–46, 51–52 *a*, 64–74, 90 *a*–93, 122, 123, 646, etc.). To pay for her he had borrowed money from a danista at Thebes (53, 54, 71, 251–54). The danista has come with him to Athens to get his money (55); he keeps the girl until he receives his money (607, 608; 620–34, 646, 647).[2] At 526 Philippa enters, looking for her daughter (the captive referred to above).[3] At 634 ff. Epidicus recognizes the captive instantly as daughter of Periphanes, father of Stratippocles.[4]

[1] The parasite had, in fact, not been with the miles at all; yet, behind the exaggeration of his utterance and that underlying similar passages (*Mi.* 24, 25, 44–46, 52, 53) lies the truth that devotion to warfare caused many a man to journey widely.

[2] We have here two motives for travel combined, war and business; cf. again the letter in *Persa* 503–8. Thucydides (vi. 31. 5) reckons as part of the outlay on the original Sicilian expedition the things which ἐπὶ μεταβολῇ τις ἢ στρατιώτης ἢ ἔμπορος ἔχων ἔπλει. Cf. his account in vii. 13. 2 of desertions and other misconduct on the part of those who had joined the expedition ὑπὸ μεγάλου μισθοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπαρθέντες καὶ οἰόμενοι χρηματιεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μαχεῖσθαι. Some of them had deserted to Syracuse, some had run away into Sicily; εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καί, αὐτοὶ ἐμπορευόμενοι, ἀνδράποδα Ὑκκαρικὰ ἀντεμβιβάσαι ὑπὲρ σφῶν πείσαντες τοὺς τριηράρχους τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἀφῄρηνται.

[3] Cf. 532, 561, 562, 602.

[4] The explanations attending the ἀναγνώρισις throw more light on travel. Periphanes had, years before, been in Epidaurus. There mulierem (Philippa) compresserat; of this union a child had been born, our captive, Telestis (see 635, 636, 540–42, 550–61). Telestis sata est Epidauri, Thebis nata est (635, 636). From 554–57 we infer

The *Eunuchus* contains more evidence of travel beyond seas than does any other play of Terence, because two familiar motives, the miles and his amours and the kidnaped child (pp. 286–89), are combined. The miles brags (397 ff.) about his services to an unnamed rex (cf. 401–8). In 410 ff. he says: invidere omnes mihi, mordere clanculum . . . . verum unus tamen inpense, elephantis quem Indicis praefecerat. Once at this king's court he had routed in a duel of wits a Rhodian soldier (420–28). At 759 it appears that our miles, though now in Athens, is a peregrinus. He had gone from Athens to Caria; on his way back he stopped at Rhodes, in time to buy the girl in whom Thais is interested (125–36).[1]

Somewhat akin to journeys on errands connected with war is travel by legati publice missi. In the *Miles* a soldier carries off

that Epidaurus was the *patria* of Philippa; why or when she went to Thebes the play does not indicate.

Yet other indications of travel belli causa are seen in this play. At 153–55 we read of a miles Euboicus now in Athens, at 299, 300 of a miles Rhodius also there (cf. 437 ff.). In 449–52 the Rhodian refers to Periphanes as nempe quem in adulescentia memorant apud reges armis, arte duellica divitias magnas indeptum? In 492 he says to him: bellator, vale. In 431–47 Periphanes alludes to his own youthful career as a soldier, quite in the spirit of the miles gloriosus. Indeed, in this talk K. Schmidt (*Hermes* XXXVII, pp. 202, 203) finds the explanation of the puzzling term Platenius, added to the name Periphanes in 438, 448 (he connects Platenius with πλάττω = fingo: " Unser Periphanes gehört also zum Geschlecht der Πλάθαινοι, der ' Prahlhänse,' wie Theodoromedes zum genus Polyplusium ").

In *Ps.* 1169–71 Harpax, now in Athens, explains that he had been domi imperator summus, but that the soldier by his prowess had captured him in battle.

[1] Less specific references to foreign military service are common. *Mo.* 129–32 seem to imply that going out ad legionem was the normal thing as a boy came to early manhood. At Athens the adulescens served first at home as ephebus. Then came his foreign service. In *Ad.* 495, 496 Hegio says of himself and the girl's father: una semper militiae et domi fuimus. Young men often go militatum, in militiam, or threaten to do so, or their friends fear they will go off thus. In the *Heauton* Clinia is driven in militiam, in Asiam, by his father (93–117, etc.); he returns, however, after three months (118). In 486–89 Chremes tells Menedemus that under certain circumstances Clinia will threaten to go off again (cf. 480, 543, 544). See also 754–56, 924–29. Menedemus in his youth had gone soldiering in Asiam, because he was poor (110–12). From *Ad.* 274, 275 we see that Ctesipho has talked of running off e patria. At 384, 385 Demea says: videre videor iam diem illum, quom hinc egens profugiet (Aeschines) aliquo militatum. In *Tr.* 595–99 Stalagmus declares that if his master loses the ager, he will have to turn soldier, for ecfugiet (erus) ex urbe . . . . latrocinatum, aut in Asiam aut in Ciliciam. Cf. 698–703, 719–26. In *Mi.* 72–77 the soldier declares that at the request of king Seleucus he had enrolled latrones; at 947–50 he states that he had sent his parasite with these latrones to Seleucus. Cf. also *Poe.* 663 ff.: nam hic latro in Sparta fuit, ut quidem ipse nobeis dixit, apud regem Attalum. See further Brix on *Tr.* 599, *Mi.* 499.

a meretrix from Athens to Ephesus, while the girl's Athenian
lover is away at Naupactus as legatus (102, 103, arg. i. 3, ii. 1–3).
In *St.* 470 ff. Epignomus declines to invite the parasite to dinner,
because he is to have as guests oratores populi, summates viri
(nine in number: 487, 490); Ambracia veniunt huc legati pub-
lice (490, 491). In *Tru.* 91, 92 Diniarchus says: nam ego
Lemno advenio Athenas . . . . legatus quo hinc cum puplico
imperio fui.[1]

Travel by meretrices, etc.—Voluntary or involuntary journeys
by meretrices, usually in the company of a miles, are not infre-
quently mentioned. In the *Miles* a soldier takes a meretrix, a
woman ingenua et libera (arg. ii. 1), by force from Athens to
Ephesus. Her lover was at Naupactus, as legatus. His slave sets
out from Athens to carry to him news concerning the meretrix
(114–19), but is captured by pirates, taken to Ephesus, and given to
the soldier (118–20, arg. i. 3–4, arg. ii. 4–6). He sends a letter
to Athens, to his master, by quidam mercator (129–31, arg. i. 5,
arg. ii. 7); the master comes to Ephesus (95–137, arg. i. 6, 7, ii.
4–9). He tarries at the house of a paternus hospes (135, 635,
674–76, etc.). The scheme by which the Athenian sought to
recover the meretrix is for us suggestive; it consists in the asser-
tion that her twin sister, with her lover and her mother, had also
come from Athens (287–347, 383–85, 411–14, etc.). The Athenian
recovers the meretrix; with the slave the lovers go back to Athens
(936–39, 1097–1103, 1145, 1146, 1184–93, 1311 ff.).

In the *Bacchides* Mnesilochus, while on a business trip to
Ephesus, stops at Samos (472), and there loves a meretrix,
Bacchis. After his departure a soldier, a peregrinus (1009),
bargains with her for a year (42–46, 58–61, 104, 222–27, 573–76,
706, 1096–98), and takes her to Athens (574). Mnesilochus
hears of this and sends a letter to a friend at Athens, begging
him to find Bacchis (389–91, 188–96, 200, 367, 390, 391). When
the play, as we have it, begins, Bacchis has but just arrived in
Athens (94–106, 473), but is eager to return to Samos (43),
supposing, no doubt, that Mnesilochus will look for her there. At
Athens she had found her sister, of like name and trade with her-

[1] Cf. 355, 356, 127, 184, 185.

self; by permission of the soldier she goes to visit that sister and then refuses to leave her. The soldier declares that unless she returns his money he will take her to Elatia, in Phocis (589–91).

In *Mer.* 644 ff. Charinus, in despair about his love affairs, declares that he will exile himself from Athens: quam capiam civitatem cogito potissimum: Megares, Eretriam, Corinthum, Chalcidem, Cretam, Cyprum, Sicyonem, Cnidum, Zacynthum, Lesbiam, Boeotiam. In 857–63 he announces that he will find his love or die. In 932 ff., in a passage which seems to be a parody of some tragedy, he talks as if wholly insane, declaring that he will go in his search first to Cyprus (933), then to Chalcis (939). Indeed, in his delirium he fancies himself at these places in turn; at Chalcis he meets a hospes from Zacynthus, who tells him that the girl is in Athens (940–45). Thither he returns (946, 947).

The *Pseudolus* is laid in Athens. A Macedonian soldier (51, 346, 1152, 1209, 1210) had been in Athens (51–53, 616–19), had bought a meretrix, paying the purchase price, save five minae, and had then left Athens, with the understanding that the girl should be delivered to his messenger when the latter came with the five minae and a proper symbolus (51–59, 344–46, 616–19, etc.). The soldier seems now to be in Sicyon (995, 996, 1098, 1173–75). Presently his cacula, Harpax, comes to get the girl. Pseudolus outwits him, gets the all-important symbolus, and hires a sycophanta to play the rôle of Harpax (this sycophanta was a slave who only the day before had come for the first time to Athens, from Carystus: 727–30, 737). At 993–96 the Pseudo-Harpax, who is come to get the girl, urges the leno to make haste, because on the next day he must be at Sicyon. At 1173 the real Harpax appears; he explains that he had left Sicyon two days before; at this Ballio exclaims: strenue hercle iisti (1175).[1]

[1] Some incidental references to travel in connection with love affairs may be grouped here. In the *Truculentus* the arrival in Athens of a miles Babyloniensis, lover of the meretrix, is momentarily expected (84, 85, 413, 417, 474, 203, 204). A message from him has come (203, 204). He arrives presently (482), after an absence of nine or ten months (595, 596). In *Cis.* 578, 579 Gymnasium's mother, in a lie, declares that the meretrix Melaenis avecta est peregre hinc habitatum. Lampadio replies: quo avecta est, eo sequemur (580). The events of the *Rudens* spring out of the leno's attempt to move, with all his possessions, including the meretrices, from Cyrene to Sicily (49–63, etc.). Thais' mother, though a Samian, was resident in Rhodes (*Eun.*

Travels of kidnaped children.—We turn now to consider
the travels of persons stolen in childhood by runaway slaves or
carried off by pirates and kidnapers (praedones); such persons
sometimes undergo remarkable experiences. Years afterward
their kinsmen journey widely in search of them.

Of the two captives with whom the *Captivi* has primarily to do,
one, Tyndarus, was in reality son of Hegio; twenty years before
(980) a runaway slave had carried him off to Elis and had sold
him into slavery there. Philocrates, while in Elis seeking to
effect an exchange of prisoners, happens on this slave and brings
him to Aetolia; through him the identity of Tyndarus is estab-
lished (759–61, 873–76, 880, 4–10, 972–92, 1010–14, 17–23).

In the *Poenulus* a boy stolen from Carthage when seven years
old is brought to Anactorium in Acarnania and thence to Calydon
in Aetolia (64–67, 72, arg. 1–3). The boy is sold (73, 74); the
purchaser presently adopts him (76, 77, 1038, 1056–77). In
896 ff. Syncerastus explains how his master, the leno, had bought
two sisters and their nurse at Anactorium, de praedone Siculo
(897);[1] the man who sold them had explained that they had been

107); hence Thais came to Athens with a lover (119, 120). In *Ph.* 510, 511 the leno de-
clares that he has sold Pamphila to a miles (532); she is to go from Athens (517, 518,
548). Phaedria declares that he will follow her to the ends of the earth (549–54). In
Hec. 85–87 we learn that a meretrix has been for two years with a soldier at Corinth,
pining all the time for Athens (88–93). In *Cis.* 143, 144 there is a reference to an
amator peregrinus of a Sicyonian meretrix.

Of value also to us is such a passage as *Ep.* 279, 280, where Epidicus urges Peri-
phanes, after he buys the girl, to remove her aliquo ex urbe. So at 470 Periphanes,
thinking he has sold this girl to a miles, bargains that the miles shall take her ex hoc
agro. In *Mer.* 353–55 Charinus fears that if his father shall learn the truth about the
ancilla, trans mare hinc venum asportet. In *And.* 381, 382 Davus tells Pamphilus
that, if he holds out against marriage because of Glycerium, his father inveniet
aliquam causam quam ob rem (eam) eiciat oppido.

[1] Certain passages show how common piracy was, though they do not involve ac-
tual carrying off of child or adult. In *Tr.* 1087–89 Charmides, who has just returned
from Asia, says: ego miserrumeis periclis sum per maria maxuma vectus, capitali
periclo per praedones plurumos me servavi, salvos redii. In *Men.* 441, 442, after Ero-
tium has induced Menaechmus II to enter her house, Messenio exclaims: periit probe:
ducit lembum dierectum navis praedatoria. Cf. 344, 345. An excellent commentary
on these passages may be found in the *Bacchides*, in the story told by Chrysalus about
the pirate ship (p. 20). To the old man the story so glibly told seemed wholly pos-
sible and reasonable; he raises no objection whatever to it. See also *Ps.* 895, 1029,
Tru. 110, frag. 37, *Men.* 1015.

This passage from the *Bacchides* seems to show also that pirates were at times in
league with presumably honest folk; cf. 282: is (navis) erat communis cum hospite

stolen from Carthage (84–95). The girls were ingenuae (894–900, 1187–90, 1239 ff., 1391–93). Milphio is delighted at Syncerastus' story, for his master too, Agorastocles, he says, had been stolen from Carthage. See also 901–4, 986, 987. Presently enters Hanno, a Carthaginian. He has a hospes at Calydon; to him or to his son he is bringing a tessera hospitalis (955–58, 1047–52). The account in the prologue (104 ff.) is instructive:

> sed pater illarum Poenus, posquam eas perdidit,
> mari te⟨rraque⟩ usquequaque quaeritat.
> ubi quamque in urbem est ingressus, ilico
> omnis meretrices, ubi quisque habitant, invenit;
> dat aurum, ducit noctem, rogitat postibi
> unde sit, quoiatis, captane an surrupta sit,
> quo genere gnata, qui parentes fuerint.
> ita docte atque astu filias quaerit suas.[1]

At 1082 ff., after Hanno has recognized Agorastocles as his nephew, he asks him to go back to Carthage; he offers to restore to him all his father's property. In 1419–21, in the exitus alter of the play, Agorastocles talks of going to Carthage, when he shall have auctioned off his possessions at Calydon (cf. the close of the *Menaechmi*).

In the *Rudens* Daemones, an Athenian, impoverished by his generosity, is resident in Cyrene, in voluntary exile (33–39);

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et praedonibus. In the *Miles* the praedones who capture the slave give him to the soldier (arg. i. 2–4, 114–20). On the whole subject cf. E. Zarncke *Parallelen zur Entführungsgeschichte in Miles Gloriosus* (Bonn, 1883).

[1] It will be noted that the stolen children were usually girls; they were regularly, too, in actual life, converted into meretrices. In *Cur.* 494–98 the parasite says to the leno: egon ab lenone quicquam mancupio accipiam, quibus sui nihil est nisi una lingua qui abiurant si quid creditum est? alienos mancupatis, alienos manu emittitis alienisque imperatis, etc. Here the masculine is due to the generalizing form of the statement. Cf. 620. In the *Poenulus*, after Agorastocles had referred to the fact that he had been kidnaped, Hanno, who overhears, exclaims (988, 989): pro di immortales! plurumei ad illunc modum periere pueri liberi Carthagini! Yet this passage is not *per se* especially significant. He has been thinking for years of his own lost daughters; now he hears of another child stolen from Carthage. He may well say plurumei, etc. We may then set the passage aside, except in so far as the very plot of the play testifies to the frequency of kidnaping. I said above that in life the stolen girls regularly became meretrices. This is not always the case in the plays. In the ἀναγνώρισις the girl usually proves to be ingenua, in fact, a civis: hence the playwrights take pains to assure us that the girls have remained castae. Cf., e. g., *Cur.* 43–59, *Poe.* 98–100, 281, 282, 292, 300–307, 1096, *Eun.* 109–117.

there, too, the youth Plesidippus, likewise an Athenian, is resi-
dent (42 ff., 740 ff., 1197, 1198, 1268). Years before the daugh-
ter of Daemones, then but three years old (744), had been
carried off by praedones (40, 744, 1105, 1111); a leno at Cyrene
had bought her (39–41, 745, 106, 107, arg. 3–6). The girl tells
her own story in 216–19; see also 393, 394, 649, 714, 736–44,
1104, 1105. The leno has with him at this time a hospes Sicu-
lus, Agrigentinus, who persuades him to close up his affairs at
Cyrene and set sail for Sicily (49–66, 356 ff.). He is ship-
wrecked, however, on the first night of his voyage and he and the
daughter of Daemones come ashore near Cyrene.

This motive of a kidnaped girl is strikingly employed in the
Persa. In a letter purporting to come from Persia, from the
master of Toxilus, we read (520–23) that the bearer is bringing
forma expetenda liberalem virginem, furtivam, abductam ex
Arabia penitissuma; eam te volo curare ut istic veneat.[1]

In *Eun*. 109–114 we have the story of a girl who was carried
off when very young from Sunium by praedones; they gave her
to a woman then resident at Rhodes, who began (eam) studiose
omnia docere, educere, ita uti si filia esset (116, 117).[2] When,
some dozen years later (318, 526), this woman died, her brother
sold the girl to a miles, who brought her to Athens as a present
to a meretrix there (130–34, 229–87).

In most of the cases thus far cited the child was carried off
by marauders (praedones). A different case is presented by the
Menaechmi. A Syracusan merchant took one of his twin sons
with him to Tarentum ad mercatum (24 ff., 17, 1116–20). In
the crowds that had come to see certain ludi the boy wandered
away (31, 1111, 1112), was picked up by an Epidamnian merchant
(32), who took him to Epidamnus (33–36), adopted him (57–61),
and finally left him all his wealth (62–68). The other brother
grows to manhood at Syracuse. For five years (234) he searches
for the lost one, and is now on his way to Epidamnus. At 226
he appears; at 233 ff. his slave exclaims: Histros, Hispanos,

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[1] Cf. 380, 715, 545, 546, 845.

[2] The girl was *ingenua;* her identity is established through her brother, a civis
Atticus (202–6, 515–27, 912–16, 951–53). See p. 287, n. 1.

Massiliensis, Hilurios, mare superum omne Graeciamque exoticam
orasque Italicas omnis, qua adgreditur mare, sumus circumvecti.
si acum, credo, quaereres, acum invenisses, sei appareret, iam diu.
The ἀναγνώρισις, though long delayed, is at last consummated
and the brothers prepare to return to Sicily (1151–61).

In *Cur.* 487–524 Curculio gets a girl out of the leno's power.
At 527–31 the leno, soliloquizing, tells us he had bought the
girl when she was very young from a man he had never seen
since. In 644–52 the girl herself explains that her mother had
taken her spectatum per Dionysia; a wind storm came up, during
which some man had carried her off. Still a different case pre-
sents itself in the *Miles*. There the soldier carried off from
Athens to Ephesus, against her will, a meretrix ingenua (arg.
ii. 1. 104–113). He detains her there for three years.[1]

Miscellaneous references to travel.—Some incidental allu-
sions to travel, voluntary or involuntary, may now be grouped
together. In *Pe.* 695, 696 Saturio, posing as a messenger from

[1] See p. 284, and p. 22, n. 1. In all the plays which involve the motive of the
kidnaped child the scene is laid away from Athens, for, as Leo notes (*Pl. Forsch.*,
p. 199, n. 3), "geraubte Kinder . . . . nicht nach Athen gebracht werden sollten."
He refers to Hüffner *De Pl. com. exemplis Att.*, p. 24. Such children were carried
away from Athens, as in the *Curculio* and the *Eunuchus*.

Kidnaping is expressed by various verbs: by rapio, *Poe.* arg. 4, etc.; by surripio,
Poe. 66, 72, *Ru.* 1105, etc. Cf., too, the adjective surrupticius; e.g., *Poe.* 962. The
passive of surripio is common, but we may note that pereo serves often as passive of
rapio and surripio in this sense, as a sort of terminus technicus: see *Poe.* 987, 989, *Ru.*
39, 744, 1111 (contrast fuit . . . . surrupta, 1105), *Eun.* 522, 524.

Those who sold a stolen child refused to sell mancupio, i. e., with a clear title,
with a guarantee; they sold at the purchaser's risk. Cf. *Pe.* 524, 525, 532, 589, 655, 714–
18. In *Mer.* 449 Charinus, to deter his father from buying the ancilla, says: non ego
illam mancupio accepi. In *Cur.* 490–94 the leno is fatuous enough to give the girl to
Curculio mancupio; Lyco, the banker, is more conservative, for, fearing that some
one may prove the girl to be ingenua, he makes the leno promise to repay him his
money if such an event occurs (490–92, 668 ff., 709 ff.). It is evident that people,
though they knew that children had been stolen, bought them without compunction
(or fear of money loss); cf. *Poe.* 1391–93. Of the lenones one would expect nothing
better. In *Eun.* 109–114 a *mercator* buys such a child. In the *Captivi* the man who
purchased a four-year-old boy from a runaway slave was a man of position and sub-
stance. In the *Menaechmi* a mercator of wealth carries off a lost boy; in Athens it-
self (*Cur.* 644–52) a man carries off a little girl from among the spectators at the
Dionysia. By word of mouth men condemned the slave trade (cf. the parasite's
words, *Cap.* 98–101, 129–32), but in practice they were willing to profit by that trade.
In a word, the world in general had no more genuine feeling in this connection than
the slave Stalagmus had; when he was asked about the boy whom he had sold he said:
argentum accepi, nil curavi ceterum (*Cap.* 989).

Persia, claims to have heard that his twin brother is in Athens as a slave: he wants to find him and set him free. Toxilus helps the story along (697–99): videor vidisse hic forma persimilem tui, eadem statura. In *Mo.* 497 the ghost says: ego transmarinus hospes sum Diapontius. See also *Men.* 414.

In the *Captivi* the slave Stalagmus runs away (p. 286) beyond seas. In various passages a slave talks of running away (*Cap.* 121–24, *Cas.* 952, 954, 960, *Ep.* 615, 664, *Mi.* 582–84, 861, *Mo.* 862, 863, *Ph.* 190, *Hec.* 424, 425. Cf. *Men.* 80, 87–95). *fugitivos* is a term of reproach (*Cas.* 397, *Poe.* 382, *Ps.* 365); cf. similar use of *fugitare*, *As.* 485. In *Cap.* 209 the captives scorn the thought that they would imitate *fugitivi servi.*

Removals from one place to another are at times mentioned. In *Poe.* 93–95 a leno removes from Anactorium to Calydon, sui quaesti causa. Cf. *Pe.* 137, 138: istic leno non sex menses Megaribus huc est quom commigravit. In the *Rudens* Daemones, impoverished, goes into voluntary retirement from Athens to Cyrene (33–38). In the same play the leno undertakes to remove, for business reasons, from Cyrene to Sicily (49–63). In *Cur.* 559 Cappadox fears that the banker will depart exulatum, to rob him of his money. In *And.* 69–72 we read that Chrysis removed from Andros to Athens; neglected by her kinsmen at Andros, she hoped to fare better at Athens. In *Eun.* 107 Thais declares that her mother was a Samian; she resided, however, at Rhodes. In the *Heauton* (96, 629, 630) we hear of an anus paupercula, e Corintho advena, in Athens.

Of significance for us is the use of the word hospes, at times, as the equivalent of ξένος, denoting a friend of a different nationality, so that it is suggestive of travel beyond seas. In the *Poenulus* the senex at Calydon who buys and adopts the boy stolen from Carthage is hospes of that boy's uncle (75, 119, 120). To that hospes or to his son, if he is himself no longer living, Hanno, the uncle, brings a tessera hospitalis (955–58, 1042–53). Cf. especially 1047: tesseram conferre si vis hospitalem, eccam attuli, 1052: haec mi hospitalis tessera cum illo fuit. According to the *Bacchides* Nicobulus, of Athens, had a hospes at Ephesus, Archidemides, with whom he had deposited 1,200 Philippi (230,

231, 250–94, 355, 686, 958). Mnesilochus, son of Nicobulus, had gone to Ephesus to get this money, taking with him a *symbolus* (263–68). In the *Miles* the Athenian lover tarries at Ephesus apud suom paternum hospitem (135, 136, 175, 506, 533, 555, 635, 738, 746, 752, 937).[1] In the *Mercator* the Athenian mercator has a hospes at Rhodes (98, 102, 104). In 940 he says he has a hospes at Chalcis, who hails from Zacynthus. In *Cur.* 429 the soldier, now in Caria, writes thus: miles Lyconi in Epidauro hospiti suo. In the *Rudens* the leno at Cyrene and an Agrigentine are hospites (the Agrigentine had been visiting the Cyrenaean; 49, 50, 72, 451, 491, 500, 571, 883). Demipho, an Athenian, has a hospes in Cilicia (*Ph.* 66–68);[2] Pamphilus claims to have a hospes at Myconos (*Hec.* 432, 801, 804).[3]

Letters.—Significant, also, for our purposes are the references to transmission of letters across the seas, especially to Athens. Cf. *As.* 761 ff.: aut quod illa dicat peregre allatam epistulam, ne epistula quidem ulla sit in aedibus nec cerata adeo tabula. In *Ba.* 388–90 we read of a letter from Ephesus to Athens; cf. 176, 177, 190–99. Palaestrio sends a letter from Ephesus to his master at Athens by quidam mercator (*Mi.* 130–33, arg. i. 5, ii. 7). Stratippocles, on military duty at Thebes, sent letters daily to Athens (*Ep.* 58, 131–38: cf. 251 ff.). Charinus, just back from Rhodes, has or pretends to have commissions (messages) to friends (*Mer.* 385, 374–77, 463). Cf. *Pe.* 694. At *Ps.*

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[1] Cf. ξεῖνος πατρώιος, *Il.* vi. 215, etc. In *Miles* 488, 495, 510, 555 Periplectomenes calls Philocomasium his hospita. This need mean no more than 'my guest,' but since she is so closely associated in his thoughts with Pleusicles, the word still conveys the idea of one who comes from distant (foreign) parts.

[2] In other passages hospes means rather 'stranger,' with the accessory suggestion that the stranger comes from a distance, especially a distance by sea. In *As.* 361, 416, 431, 582 the messenger from the merchant at Pella is called, in Athens, a hospes. In *Pe.* 527, 529, 544, 604, 612 the messenger who is supposed to have come from Persia is called, in Athens, hospes. In *Poe.* 1005, Agorastocles, speaking to his slave of Hanno, of whose arrival they are witnesses, and whose costume is distinctive (p. 297), says: nolo ego errare hospitem. In *Ru.* 583 Sceparnio refuses to admit the shipwrecked Charmides to the villa, saying: barbarum hospitem mi in aedis nil moror. In *Mo.* 497 the ghost says: ego transmarinus hospes sum Diapontius. Cf. also *And.* 810, 817, 843. In *Ph.* 605 hunc—hospitem is mockingly said, 'this new *arrival* from foreign parts, this globe-trotter.'

[3] *Peregrinus* is not specially suggestive of distance. In the *Andria* the women from Andros are called *peregrinae;* cf. *Poe.* 175 dicatque se peregrinum esse ex alio oppido, *Epid.* 126, etc.

647 Harpax brings a letter from the soldier, now at Sicyon, to Ballio; in the letter is a symbolus (cf. also 669, 670, 706, 716, 1202, 1208). Pseudolus gets possession of the letter and through it of the meretrix (983–1051). The letter is read in 998–1001, 1009–14. Frequent references have already been made to the letter which in the *Persa* is supposed to have come from Persia. In *St.* 29–36 the *matronae* express surprise that no word has come from their husbands, though they have been gone for more than two years. They are, however, still hoping for a message (148, 149). In *Tr.* 774–77 Callicles suggests, as a means of getting a dowry for Charmides' daughter, that two letters be prepared, purporting to come from Charmides, now in Seleucia, conveying money. See also 788–95, 815–18, 848–50, 875, 894–902, 949–51, 986, 1002. From *Tru.* 202, 204 it appears that a letter has come from the soldier concerning his arrival in Athens (cf. 397–400, 412, 413). According to *Ph.* 67, 68 Demipho was lured from Athens by letters from a hospes in Cilicia. In 149 reference is made to a letter from Demipho which is then in the hands of the portitores (see p. 294); Geta goes to claim this letter (150).

In *Mi.* 1362, 1363 Palaestrio pretends to be loath to leave the soldier and to depart from Ephesus; si forte liber fieri occeperim, he says, mittam nuntium ad te. The plot of the *Menaechmi* depends on the assumption that word had been brought to Syracuse of the fate at Tarentum of the boy and his father.[1] In *Cur.* 143, 225, 324, 325 it is implied that a letter or messenger had come from Curculio, from Caria to Epidaurus, though he had gone but three or four days in all. According to 345–48 it had been arranged that the leno should deliver the girl to anyone who brought him a letter sealed with the soldier's ring. Curculio gets possession of the ring (356–61); a letter is manufactured (365, 369, 370, 411–22, 545–51).[2]

[1] Still, this could easily have been brought by persons on the ship by which the father had gone to Tarentum (24–27).

[2] To letters sent within Athens itself references are made in *Pe.* 247, 196, 248, 272 (the distance covered was small). In *Ps.* 10, 11, 20–59 we have a letter from Phoenicium to Calidorus. For the sealing of letters cf. *Ps.* 706, 988, *Tr.* 788–95, *Cur.* 345–48, *Ba.* 789, 986, *Cur.* 423. For a good description of the writing, fastening, and sealing of a letter see *Ba.* 715, 728–48.

Summary.—The foregoing pages amply show that travel across the seas, between points widely separated, was common in Menander's time.   For the most part, travel was on matters of business; this remark holds true even of travel undertaken to find stolen children, for such journeying was not undertaken for pleasure. The traveler, then, for the most part goes against his will, to search for long lost kin, or he goes with some definite motive, arising out of war, or business in the narrower sense, or out of the intrigues connected with some love affair.[1]

We may now consider certain matters connected in various ways with travel.

Seasickness.—Seasickness is occasionally mentioned.   In *Am.* 329, 330 Sosia cries: lassus sum hercle e navi, ut vectus huc sum: etiam nunc nauseo.   Cf. *Mer.* 387–89: usquine valuisti? perpetuo recte, dum quidem illic fui; verum in portum huc ut sum advectus, nescio qui animus mihi dolet. nausea edepol factum credo; verum actutum apscesserit.   For this Vss. 368–73 have well prepared the way.   In *Ru.* 510, 511 Labrax, recently shipwrecked, cries: perii! animo male fit.   contine quaeso caput.   CHAR. pulmoneum edepol nimis velim vomitum vomas.[2]

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[1] That people at Athens were willing, however, to travel for the mere pleasure of seeing new sights, i. e., with an attitude of mind somewhat akin to that of the modern tourist can be demonstrated by Thuc. vi. 24. 3.   Speaking of the motives which made the Athenians so enthusiastic for the Sicilian expedition Thucydides says: καὶ ἔρως ἐνέπεσε τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐκπλεῦσαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτέροις ὡς ἢ καταστρεψομένοις ἐφ' ἃ ἔπλεον ἢ οὐδὲν ἂν σφαλεῖσαν μεγάλην δύναμιν, τοῖς δ' ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τῆς τε ἀπούσης πόθῳ ὄψεως καὶ θεωρίας καὶ εὐέλπιδες ὄντες σωθήσεσθαι.

Now and then we get a fleeting hint of this sort in Plautus.   In *Cur.* 339 the parasite, describing his meeting with the soldier in Caria, says: rogat (me) quid veniam Cariam; dico me illo advenisse *animi caussa*.   We may set here also the references to the crowds that gathered to witness the Panathenaic procession at Athens (*Mer.* 61–68, *Cur.* 644–52), games at Tarentum (*Men.* 24–28), and at Sicyon (*Cis.* 156, 157). In *Cis.* 156, 157 nothing is said directly of the attendance of spectators at the games, but it was the presence of such spectators (bent primarily on amusement, but willing, no doubt, to take advantage of the trading opportunities afforded by such an occasion) that made it worth the mercator's while to come to Sicyon.

An interesting passage is *Men.* 247, 248.   Messenio, using the freedom allowed to a trusted slave, has been chiding his master for spending so much time, energy, and money in a fruitless quest (230–41).   He concludes:

> in scirpo nodum quaeris, quin nos hinc domum
> redimus, nisi si historiam scripturi sumus?

"Why don't we go home unless we are gathering materials for a book of travels?" For the sense given to historiam cf., e. g., Lucian's Ἀληθὴς Ἱστορία.

[2] Rolfe "Some References to Seasickness in the Ancient Writers" *Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, xxxiv, p. v, cites only *Am.* 329, *Mer.* 388 from Plautus.   Certain other

Portitores.—On returning from foreign parts travelers had to face the portitores.[1] In *St.* 366–69 we read:

> dum percontor portitores ecquae navis venerit
> ex Asia, negant venisse: conspicatus sum interim
> cercurum, quo ego me maiorem non vidisse censeo.

The portitores were evidently authorities on the arrival or non-arrival of ships, presumably because every ship had to report to them and be examined by them.[2] Of the nature of this examination we get a good hint in *Men.* 114–18: "Every time I go anywhere you want to know all about it," says husband to wife; portitorem domum duxi, ita omnem mihi rem necesse eloqui est, quidquid egi atque ago.

To the portitores letters came (see *Ph.* 149, 150). That they broke open and inspected letters appears from *Tr.* 788–95; cf. 793 ff.: si opsignatas non feret, dici hoc potest, apud portitorem eas resignatas sibi inspectasque esse.

Money (portorium), for port fees and tariff dues, I suppose, was paid to the portitores; it would seem that until such dues were paid nothing could be removed from a ship. Cf. *Tr.* 1103–8: curre in Piraeum . . . . iubeto Sangarionem quae imperaverim curare ut ecferantur (ex navi), et tu ito simul. solutumst portitori iam portorium: nihil est morae.[3]

passages lie somewhat close to our subject; in these evidence accumulates that voyaging on the deep was not viewed as an unalloyed pleasure. In *Ba.* 105, 106 the Athenian Bacchis says to her sister: uti navi vecta's, credo, timida es. In *Men.* 226–28 Messenio tells how pleasant it is to get to land (but he has been traveling for five years and is sick from surfeiting on too much). For references to buffeting by the waves see *Mi.* 414, *Mo.* 431–37, *St.* 419, 420. In *Poe.* 210 ff. a woman, in a canticum, brings navis et mulier together as things liable to give one trouble. In *Tr.* 1087–89 there is a general reference to hardships on the sea, with special allusion to praedones (cf. 827, 838). In *Hec.* 415–25 Sosia, just back from Imbros, says: non hercle verbis . . . . dici potest tantum quam re ipsa navigare incommodumst. In 421–23 he continues:

> dies triginta aut plus eo in navi fui,
> quom interea semper mortem expectabam miser;
> ita usque advorsa tempestate usi sumus.

But *triginta dies* can hardly be taken literally. To the slave (as to the meretrix, *Hec.* 85–93) there was only one place in the world, Athens. Cf. p. 285, n. 1.

[1] On the meaning of portitor see Norden on *Aen.* vi. 298, and my paper in the *School Review* XIII, p. 493.

[2] In *Ph.* 462 Demipho says: percontatum ibo ad portum (i. e., probably, ad portitores), quoad se recipiat. *Hec.* 76, 77 is similar.

[3] These bonafide payments light up certain figurative uses of portorium. In *As.* 158 the lena says to Argyrippus: quam magis te in altum capessis, tam aestus te in

Tabernae.—Travelers occasionally put up at taverns. In *Men.* 435–37 Menaechmus bids Messenio take the pedisequi (and the vasa) to a taberna devorsoria.[1] At 557 Menaechmus goes off to seek Messenio; after a fruitless quest he exclaims (703): immersit aliquo sese, credo, in ganeum, in his impatience substituting the disreputable *ganeum* (*As.* 887) for *taberna devorsoria*. In *Ps.* 658, 659 (the real) Harpax says:

> ego devortor extra portam huc in tabernam tertiam[2]
> apud anum illam doliarem, claudam, crassam, Chrysidem.

Harpax, departing (660), bids Pseudolus send for him when the *leno* returns. Meanwhile, he says, he will dine at the taberna and then sleep (664); cf. 661: nam ut lassus veni de via, me volo curare. He waits in vain for Pseudolus there (1116–20).[3]

Costume.—Hints may be got here and there of the costume of travelers. A marked feature of this was the petasus, the broad-brimmed hat.[4] In the *Amphitruo* Jupiter and Amphitruo are garbed exactly alike, except that Jupiter has a torulus aureus sub petaso (144, 145, 121–23, 131–35). Sosia is distinguishable from Mercury only by the pinnulae on his petasus (141–43, 124–30, 265, 441–46, 455–58, 600, 601). In 443–45 Sosia says of Mercury: itidem habet petasum ac vestitum: tam consimilest atque ego; sura, pes, statura, tonsus, etc. We must suppose that the petasus was hanging down Mercury's back; otherwise the tonsus would not be observable.[5] Harpax, a cacula militis,

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portum refert. ego pol istum portitorem privabo portorio. Cf. also 241, 242: portitorum (portuum, Lindsay) simillumae sunt ianuae lenoniae: si adfers, tum patent: si non est quod des, aedes non patent.

[1] Cf. 986, 987, 1035–37.

[2] We note two things about this taberna. (1) It is tertia extra portam. One who remembers how relatively numerous the tabernae are in Pompeii just within the gates, as in Stabian Street, or just without the gates, as in the Street of the Tombs, will appreciate this passage. (2) The taberna is kept by an anus. We may compare copa Syrisca of the Copa, and cum venali Cyane succincta lagona of Juvenal viii. 162. We may compare also the tavern sign at Pompeii which represents a hostess reckoning the dues of a departing guest. St. Augustine (*De civ. Dei* xviii. 18) refers to hostesses.

[3] In *Tru.* 697 Truculentus, about to enter the house of Phronesium, the meretrix, calls it a taberna devorsoria, where he will be sure to get bad treatment. Cf. Wroth in Smith *Dict. of Antiq.*, s. v. "Caupona," on the character of ancient taverns.

[4] See Smith *Dict. of Antiq.* II, p. 428, Marquardt *Privatl.* p. 572.

[5] For this mode of wearing the petasus see Smith *loc. cit.*

wears the petasus (*Ps.* 1186; cf. 735). The sycophanta in the *Trinummus* wears an extraordinarily wide petasus; Charmides, who is watching him, exclaims (851): pol hic quidem fungino generest; capite se totum tegit.[1]

The pallium is the ordinary costume of men in the plays: (cf. the term "fabula palliata"). It was sometimes worn, too, on journeys. Sosia, sent forward by night by the impatient Amphitruo, wears tunicae consutae (*Am.* 367) and pallium (294). In the *Rudens* Labrax, the leno, after the shipwreck, is wearing a tunicula and a pallium (549, 550). This was his costume at the outset, for of a change of costume there is no hint; the shipwreck kept him too busy for that.[2]

The miles (or his messenger) regularly wears a chlamys (*Cur.* 632, *Ep.* 435, 436, *Poe.* 620, 644, *Ps.* 735, 963, 964, 1101, 1139, 1143, 1184), a petasus (*Ps.* 735, 1186), and a machaera (*Ba.* 887, *Cur.* 567, 632, *Ps.* 592, 735, 1185, *Mer.* 926, *Tru.* 927, 627).[3] In *Mer.* 830–944 Charinus talks of leaving home, not militatum, but to search for his lost love. His costume has its points of resemblance, however, to that of a miles. When ready to depart he wears a chlamys (912). On hearing that his love is close at hand, he changes his mind about going and calls a slave out to take his chlamys and give him a pallium (cf. 912, 913 with 922). Presently he resolves again to go, and again calls for his chlamys (921, 922). He has a zona (925), a machaera (926), and an ampulla (927).[4]

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[1] Mr. Wroth (Smith *Dict. of Antiq.* I, p. 388) thinks this was a causea. In *Pe.* 155 Sagaristio is instructed to wear tunica, zona, chlamys, and causea while he poses as the messenger who had brought the stolen maiden from Persia. In *Mi.* 1178 the causea is worn by a sailor.

[2] See also *Cur.* 355.

[3] The machaera marked the wearer at once as a soldier or a peregrinus (cf. *Pe.* 155–57, *Ps.* 917, 918). The Athenians were the first of the Greeks to abandon the habit of wearing arms (Thuc. i. 6. 1–3). Cf. also the story told by Herod. vi. 35 of Miltiades: ὁρέων τοὺς Δολόγκους παριόντας ἐσθῆτα ἔχοντας οὐκ ἐγχωρίην καὶ αἰχμὰς προσεβώσατο καὶ σφι προσελθοῦσι ἐπηγγείλατο καταγωγὴν καὶ ξείνια.

[4] For this ampulla cf. Naudet *ad loc.*: "mos erat pedes oleo ungere, antequam calceos induerent (he cites Hesychius in support of this statement): itaque peregre abeuntes ampullam secum portabant, quae oleum in eum usum suppeditaret. Cf. also, perhaps, *Pe.* 124, with Naudet's note.

To the costume of Sagaristio in the *Persa* reference has already
been made (p. 296, n. 1). Cf. also 462, 463, also said of that
costume.

The ornatus thalassicus is described in *Mi.* 1177–82:

> facito uti venias ornatu huc ad nos nauclerico;
> causeam habeas ferrugineam, scutulam ob oculos laneam,
> palliolum habeas ferrugineum (nam is colos thalassicust),
> id conexum in umero laevo, exfafillato bracchio,
> praecinctus aliqui: adsimulato quasi gubernator sies;
> atque apud hunc senem omnia haec sunt, nam is piscatores habet.

We may assume that this costume was worn by the mercator,
whom Plautus so often mentions. That it was readily recog-
nizable as a sailor's costume appears from *Mi.* 1281–83: nescio
quis eccum incedit ornatu quidem thalassico. . . . . nauclerus
hicquidem est.[1] In *As.* 69 there is a reference to the nauclericus
ornatus, but no description.

In the *Poenulus* Hanno, a Carthaginian, comes to Calydon.
His costume is manifestly distinctive; it is recognized at once as
Punic by Milphio and his master Agorastocles (977) and as
African by Antamoenides, the miles (1304). He wears no pallium
(976); his tunic is long, and has long hanging sleeves (1298,
1303), so that Milphio, watching him approach, asks (975): sed
quae illaec avis est quae huc cum tunicis advenit? He is called
tunicatus in 1121. In 1008 Milphio asks him why, though he
has no sona (zona), he has come to Calydon.[2] To Antamoenides,
the miles, Hanno seems to be garbed like a woman (1303).

Of women's traveling costume we get but meager hints. In
Ep. 527 Philippa, a native of Epidaurus, but resident now in
Thebes, is in Athens looking for her daughter. As soon as he
sees her Periphanes says (533): quis illaec est mulier timido
pectore peregre adveniens . . . . ? Philippa had said nothing

[1] The scutula lanea (*Mi.* 1178, 1430) is not a regular part of the costume. The
pseudo-nauclerus explains (1306–10): amoris caussa hercle hoc ego oculo utor minus.
On ferrugineus see editors here, Merrill and Ellis on Catullus lxiv. 227, Munro on
Lucr. iv. 76.

[2] In *Ps.* 738 Pseudolus says of the substitute Harpax: manuleatam tunicam habere
hominem addecet. See Lorenz *ad loc.*

to indicate that she was peregrina.[1] According to *Pe.* 157 Saturio's
daughter is to be ornata lepide in peregrinum modum, that she
may pose as a captive from Arabia via Persia.   In 464 Toxilus
says of her: tum hanc hospitam autem crepidula ut graphice decet!

The *Menaechmi* presents an interesting phenomenon. Had the
Syracusan Menaechmus worn the usual traveling costume, no one
in Epidamnus would have confused him with his brother, or at
any rate explanations would soon have been forthcoming and the
chain of events out of which the play is built could not have
happened.   Plautus therefore (and, we may suppose, his original)
for this play disregarded the facts of travel and ignored the
whole matter of costume.   Cf. Langen, *Plautinische Studien*,
pp. 148, 149.

Pedisequi.—The traveler who comes home from abroad com-
monly has with him two pedisequi.   These pedisequi are usually
mutae personae.[1]   They are present on the stage in *Am.* 551–854,
Ba. 385–525, *Men.* 226–445 (cf. 436, 986), *Poe.* 930–1173 (see
978–80).   *Hec.* 359, 360 would seem to show (what we should a
priori expect) that such pedisequi went with the traveler from
home and were with him at every stage of his journey, for when
Pamphilus says: tu pueris curre, Parmeno, obviam atque eis onera
adiuta, Parmeno rejoins: quid? non sciunt ipsi viam domum qua
veniant?   Cf. 409, 429.[2]

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[1] We have evidence elsewhere that foreign costumes are instantly recognizable as
such. Cf. p. 296, n. 3. In *Tr.* 852 Charmides says of the sycophanta: Hilurica facies
videtur hominis, eo ornatu advenit. Cf. also *Poe.* 656, 675, 801, *Ps.* 616–22, 964, *Eun.*
313–18.

[2] Sometimes the traveler has but one attendant. In *As.* 382 the messenger who
comes to pay the money has a puer; in *Ba.* 573 ff. the soldier's messenger has a puer.
In *Tru.* 482 ff. (see 535) the miles has a puer. Cf. also *Cur.* 390, *Ep.* 437. If the
traveler comes straight from ship to stage, he has two attendants (for then his bag-
gage must be taken care of); if he comes from lodgings in town he has but one. We
may remember with profit the fact that hoplites (at least) in the Athenian army had
servants with them; see Thuc. vi. 102. 2, and Mr. Spratt's note (p. 364, ll. 2, 3). *Poe.*
978, 979 may show that Hanno had more than two pedisequi with him, but he had
made an exceptionally long journey.

On the other hand in *Mer.* 852 ff. Charinus, who is resolved to go from home, has
no attendant. In 910 ff., when he wishes to exchange his chlamys for a pallium, he has
to call a puer from the house. Finally, beside the pedisequi, a traveler often had with
him a favorite or trusted slave. So in the *Bacchides* Mnesilochus had Chrysalus with
him; in the *Mercator* Charinus had with him on his two-year trading-trip his one-time
paedagogus (90, 91, 108, 109).

Baggage.—Travelers carried at times a goodly amount of baggage. In the *Amphitruo* reference is made to gifts, including a patera aurea, presented to Amphitruo by the vanquished Teloboae (137–39, 260, 261, 418–20, 760). The patera is supposed to be in a cistula (420), which is sealed (421). At 629 Amphitruo says to Sosia: vide ex navi ecferantur quae imperavi iam omnia. Later, Amphitruo has with him a sealed cistellula (773–97); Sosia opens it (787 ff.), but finds no patera within.

In *Ep.* 22, 23 when Thesprio asserts that his master is back in Athens Epidicus exclaims: ubi is ergost? nisi si in vidulo aut si in mellina attulisti. In *Men.* 350, 986, 1035 we have reference to baggage, vasa. Part of this is a marsuppium cum viatico, in a vidulus (1036, 1037, 254, 255, 384–86, 701–3, etc.); in the vidulus is a *peniculus* (286, 391). In the *Miles* Philocomasium, when she leaves the soldier, has aurum et vestis (981, 982, 1099, 1100, 1301–1314, etc.); several bearers are needed to carry her possessions (1191, 1301 ff., 1427). In *Poe.* 978–81 Hanno has pedisequi, sarcinati omnes; they are so burdened that Milphio calls them servi veteres antiquique (they are bent like old men).

In the *Rudens* reference is made repeatedly to a vidulus belonging to the leno (545, 546, 936 a, 963 ff., 988–93, etc.). The leather covering of the vidulus is colored (997–1000). Vs. 1177 shows that the vidulus is heavy. And well it may be, for it contains much. First we may name the crepundia, by which Palaestra is proven to be the daughter of Daemones; these include ensiculus aureolus litteratus, securicula ancipes, itidem aurea, litterata, sicilicula argenteola et duae conexae maniculae et sucula, and bulla aurea (1156–71). All these are in a cistella of wood (1109, 1133, 389–93, 1081–86, etc.). There is money, too, in the vidulus (395, 396), in a marsuppium (1313–15). For a general description of the contents see 1309–20; they include aurum atque argentum magnum, nummi octingenti aurei in marsuppio, praeterea centum minaria Philippica in pasceolo sorsus, talentum argenti commodum magnum . . . . in crumina, praeterea sinus, cantharus, epichysis, gaulus, cyathus.[1] Charmides,

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[1] Someone may object that the leno is lying, but (1) the *vidulus* was now open before the eyes of Daemones and Gripus, neither of whom comments on or disputes

the leno's hospes, had had a sacciperium, in which was a marsup-
pium, plenum auri (547, 548).

In *Tr.* 1105, 1106 Charmides refers to things which he desires
to have brought up from his ship.   In *Hec.* 359 Pamphilus bids
Parmeno run to meet the pueri and to help them with their
burdens.   In the *Truculentus* the soldier has brought two ancil-
lae ex Syria (530–33), a perula (535), a pallula ex Phrygia (536,
539), tus ex Arabia, amomum ex Ponto (539, 540), gifts which
might be sold for twenty minae (543, 544).[1]

The passages thus far cited all deal with travel over seas.   In
the *Heauton* a meretrix comes from Athens to stay a short time
ruri (245 ff., 311 ff.); she is bringing with her much baggage
(245–48, 252–54, 451, 452, 739–45).[2]   Cf. *Hec.* 611 f.: et compone
quae tecum simul (*sc.* rus) ferantur, said by Laches to his wife.[3]

Thanksgiving by returned travelers.—The returned traveler
commonly gives thanks to the gods for his safe return.   Cf. *Ba.*
346, 347: ubi nunc est ergo meus . . . . filius?   deos atque
amicos iit salutatum ad forum.   In *St.* 402–5 Epignomus gives
thanks to Neptune and the Tempestates for his safe return, and
to Mercury for his success in trading.   In 623 Pamphilippus says:
deos salutabo modo, poste ad te continuo transeo (cf. *Ph.* 311,
312).   Sometimes the thanks are not wholly courteous, as in *Mo.*
431–37.   *Tr.* 820–38 is the most elaborate passage that can be
cited in this connection; in 838, 839 its tone approaches that of
Mo. 431 ff.   Sometimes we have a sacrifice of thanksgiving or the
formal payment of vows.   In *Am.* 946–48 Amphitruo bids vasa
pura adornari mihi, ut quae apud legionem vota vovi si domum
rediissem salvos, ea ego exsolvam omnia (cf. 966–68).   In *Cap.*
843–51 the parasite takes it for granted that there will be a sacri-
fice and a feast, because Philocrates has returned, bringing with
him the slave who had run away years before.   The kinsmen of

the leno's statements, (2) the leno was removing his whole fortune from Cyrene to
Sicily (49–63, etc.).

[1] I purposely omit such cases as those of the brothers in the *Stichus*, who return
home after two years, each in a ship of his own, richly laden (374–83); such passages
have to do rather with general trade.

[2] For a commentary on the things a meretrix might bring with her see *Tr.* 250–54.

[3] In *Ba.* 349 there is a reference to mules as carriers; cf. *Mo.* 430, 778–82, *Ph.* 561.

voyagers sometimes give thanks or make a sacrifice in connection with their return. In *Ep.* 314–16 Epidicus explains that his master had bidden him hire a fidicina, to play for him dum rem divinam faceret, because his son was home again (414–18, 499–501). In *St.* 396, 397 the wife of Epignomus gives orders for a sacrifice, because she has heard of his safe return.[1]

Greetings to returned travelers.—In many passages we have words of courteous greeting to a traveler just returned; these include congratulations, inquiries after his health at present and during his voyage. Salvos sis, Mnesiloche, salvom te advenisse gaudeo (*Ba.* 456), said by father to son, is typical. Cf. *Hec.* 455–57, also said by father to son. Typical again is *Mo.* 448, 449: ere, salve, salvom te advenisse gaudeo. usquin valuisti? usque, ut vides. factum optume. How stereotyped the formula was may be seen from *Tr.* 1073, 1074: o mi ere exoptatissume, salve. salve, Stasime. salvom te . . . . scio et credo tibi. The other passages pertinent here are *Mo.* 805, 806 (senex to senex), *St.* 505–9 (senex, who is virtually a parasitus, to his sons-in-law), *Am.* 714–16, 799, 800 (wife to husband: cf. 680 ff.), *Mo.* 1128, 1129 (adulescens to senex), *Tr.* 1180–82 (son to father), *Ph.* 254–56 (adulescens to uncle), *Ep.* 126–29, *Ph.* 286 (slave to master), *Ph.* 609–611 (slave to master's brother), *Hec.* 81–84 (slave to meretrix), *Tru.* 503, 504 (ancilla to miles), *St.* 465–67, 470, 471, 583–86 (parasite to senex), *Hec.* 353 (mother to son), *Poe.* 685, 686 (leno to vilicus, who is masquerading as a miles), *Ep.* 7–11, 17–19 (slave to slave), *Heaut.* 406, 407 (amica to lover). In *Eun.* 976 Parmeno, in sore distress, catching sight of his older master coming rure, cries: salvom te advenire, ere, gaudeo. In *Mer.* 366 ff. father and son meet after two years; the father is solicitous enough (367, 369, 371, 387–89), but certain special circumstances prevent the utterance of the usual formulas.[2]

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[1] With these passages we may compare many others later, e. g., Horace *Carm.* i. 5. 13–16, and the numerous examples of the payment of such vows afforded by Italian churches, for instance, the Church of S. Antonino at Sorrento. Cf., too, the thanksgiving ordered by Dido (*Aen.* i. 632) for the safe coming of Aeneas; she gives a dinner also (637–42, 695–756; see below, p. 302). Cf. also the conduct of Aufidius Luscus in Horace *Serm.* i. 5. 35, 36. *Am.* 180–84 bears, I think, on this subject; see my paper in the *Classical Review* VII, pp. 21, 22.

[2] Congratulations are sometimes extended to the family (see *Tr.* 1178). The prac-

Banquet to returned traveler.—It was usual to give a dinner party to one just returned from foreign travel, on the very day of his return (hodie, *Ba.* 94, *Mer.* 949, *Mo.* 1129, *Pe.* 710, *St.* 511). Cf. *Ba.* 186, 94: ego sorori meae cenam hodie dare volo viaticam (95–102), 536, 537 (Pistoclerus to Mnesilochus: salvos quom peregre advenis, cena detur), *Cur.* 251–53, 384–88, 728 (Phaedromus here invites the miles, just back from Caria, to dinner; still, he is to marry the soldier's sister), *Mer.* 98, 99 (dinner to an Athenian at Rhodes by his hospes there), *Mo.* 1129–34, *Pe.* 709, 710, *Poe* 1151 (dinner by Agorastocles to his newly found uncle), *Tru.* 127. In *St.* 587–91 the parasite expresses his regret that he is not rich enough to invite Pamphilippus to dinner. In *St.* 510–13 Antipho recognizes his obligation to invite the brothers, his sons-in-law, who are just back from Asia, to dinner hodie. Since, however, he has been forestalled in this, he invites them for the next day.[1]

Conveyances.—At the very beginning of this paper I quoted Blümner's statement that we need an account of traveling vehicles in ancient times. On this theme the plays throw no light. I have noted no passage in which there is reference to any kind of vehicle as actually used in land travel. This is natural, since, as was said above (p. 16), land travel in the plays involves move-

tice of courteously greeting the returned traveler is in some passages burlesqued (see *Ba.* 184–87, *Cur.* 306, 307, *Mer.* 947–50, *Ep.* 395).

Since the plays present to us pictures usually of returning, not of departing, travelers, we get few examples of farewells. Still, in *Mer.* 659 Charinus declares that he is going home to say good-by to father and mother and then go away; in 830–37 he bids an elaborate farewell to his house (cf. 866). Cf. also the farewell of the meretrix when she leaves the soldier (*Mi.* 1311–43).

[1] In *St.* 415 Epignomus himself gives a cena, at his own house, hodie, to which he invites his father-in-law. In 515 ff. his brother declines Antipho's invitation for the morrow, and says: "Come rather to my house the day after." But the play makes it plain that no love was lost between Antipho and the brothers; the old man is rather despicable. In *Heaut.* 183 Clitipho has brought Clinia home from the ship to dinner, but this dinner would have taken place independently of Clinia's coming, in connection with the Dionysia.

In *St.* 430–52, 661–65, 683 ff., two slaves, on returning with the brothers, have a cena. In *Ep.* 7, 8 we have two slaves talking: venire salvom gaudeo. quid ceterum quod eo adsolet? (sc. addi. I follow A, against Lindsay) cena tibi dabitur. spondeo . . . . quid? me accepturum, si dabis.

Here, too, we have burlesque at times (see *Cur.* 660, 661, *Ba.* 184–87, *Mer.* 946–50, *Mo.* 1004–7, *Am.* 153–63, 285, 286, 296, 664, 665). The passages cited just above, describing the cena of the slaves, perhaps belong here, too. With this matter of the cena, on its serious side, compare the cena given to Aeneas and the Trojans, *Aen.* i. 637–42, 695–756.

ment only between some city and its portus or its suburbs; such
travel was pursued on foot.   quadrigae are mentioned in *Am*. 450,
As. 279, *Aul*. 600, *Poe*. 369, *St*. 291, but in figurative or extra-
vagant expressions.[1]   In *Men*. 863, 865 Menaechmus talks of
mounting a currus, but he is feigning madness.   In *Mer*. 931
(likewise, I take it, a parody of some tragedy), Charinus fancies
himself mounting a currus, and taking the reins in hand, but in
932 he is on foot!   In *Mo*. 778–82, 429, 430 there is reference to
muli clitellarii (cf. *Ba*. 349, *Ph*. 561), but there is no proof that
we must think of them as carrying riders too.

Ships of different kinds are referred to, but none is described.
The term most often used is navis; references need not be given.
We find navis mercatoria in *Ba*. 236, navis oneraria in *Poe*. 651.
Other terms are navis cercurus (*Mer*. 86) and cercurus alone
(*St*. 368, 369: conspicatus sum . . . . cercurum, quo ego me ma-
iorem non vidisse censeo, 413 in cercuro, in stega) ; celox, *Cap*. 874:
filium tuom modo in portu . . . . vidi in puplica celoce (in *As*.
258, *Mi*. 986, *Ps*. 1306 celox is figuratively used; so too celocula,
Mi. 1006) ; lembus, *Ba*. 279, 286 ff., 305 ff., 958, of the pirate
ship.[2] For ratis and catapirateria in a figurative passage see
Aul. 597, 598. In *Mer*. 259, 193, Demipho puts off in a lembus
to his son's ship, just arrived from Rhodes, exactly as the traveler
today, in Mediterranean ports, still puts off in a rowboat to board
incoming or outgoing vessels.[3]

In general the traveler in Plautus and Terence goes abroad in
his own ship. In *Mer*. 86 ff. we read that Charinus' father had
a navis cercurus specially built for him. Sometimes, however, a
ship is hired or chartered. In the *Rudens* the leno sets out from
Cyrene for Sicily in a navis conducta (57, 58).   In *Ad*. 224, 225
Syrus says to the leno: aiunt . . . . coemisse hinc quae illuc (to

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[1] In *Am*. 422 Amphitruo's seal is cum quadrigis sol exoriens.

[2] In 292 it is called *ratis*. Contrast *Men*. 442: ducit lembum dierectum navis prae-
datoria (in figurative expression). In a figurative expression, *Poe*. 507, corbitae are
named as notoriously slow (cf. 543). In the burlesque passage, *Tr*. 942, a horiola is
used, to sail up a stream.

[3] In *As*. 519 reference is made to the casteria of a ship, in *Cis*. 121, to sand ballast
(saburra), in *As*. 518 to the portisculus, with which the gubernator beat time to indi-
cate the stroke (cf. *Mer*. 695–97: in mari solet hortator remiges hortarier), all in figura-
tive expressions. For references to the handling of a ship see *Merc*. 174 ff., 191 ff. In
Men. 402–4, *Mi*. 915–21 we have fleeting allusions to ship-building.

Cyprus) veheres multa, navem conductam. One could take passage in a ship owned by another; the Lemnian consort of Chremes did this (*Ph.* 571, 572, 576). One could send a letter thus (*Mi.* 130, 131).[1]

Routes.—The ships of the Greeks commonly followed the coast-lines. "The most important route led northward from Aegina, Corinth, and Athens, by way of Euboea, ... Thasos, ... Imbros, Lemnos, ... to the Black Sea.[2] Here the leading traders were Miletus, and her sister-cities, with Megara, Athens, and, later, Rhodes." With this northern route the plays have little to do; the references to Euboea, Thasos, Imbros, Lemnos, Megara, and Corinth are not numerous. "Another important route," continues Mr. Edwards, "crossed the Aegean N. E. by Euboea, Chios (the great slave-mart), and Lesbos, and so reached Clazomenae and Phocaea; another, bearing eastward by the Cyclades to Miletus and Ephesus, was associated with branch lines connecting Athens and the Peloponnese with Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, Phoenicia, and Egypt." The careful reader of the geographical data collected on pp. 5–12, and of the accounts of travel in pp. 19–24, 281–93, will see that the latter route is the one which the writers of the plays have most frequently in mind, naturally, because they wrote in the time of the Diadochi, when men's thoughts had been turned to Asia and to Egypt by the achievements of Alexander and his successors.[3] "To the west the most important route circumnavigated the Peloponnese to Leucas and Corcyra, and thence struck across to Italy, Sicily, and beyond." For this route, too, the plays supply abundant evidence. Finally, we may note that the *Poenulus* points to a regular route from Carthage (and other African points) to western Greece, as the *Rudens* (629–31) points to movement between Cyrene and Capua.[4]

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[1] In *Mer.* 74, 75 a ship is referred to, metretas quae trecentas tolleret.

[2] H. J. Edwards, in Whibley's *Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 428.

[3] Cf. Naudet on *Mer.* i. 1. 76. Philippi, Philippei (nummi) in expressions of money, point the same way; cf., e. g., *Poe.* 165, 166, 415, 558, 781, *Tr.* 955 965, 1158, etc.

[4] There is very little in the plays that throws light on the rate of travel, and to that little reference has already been made. For Harpax's quick journey from Sicyon to Athens see p. 16, n. 1; for the parasite's journey from Epidaurus to Caria see p. 6, n. 1 (latter part). If Caria is, as I have maintained in that note, the district in Asia, the time given for the round trip between Epidaurus and Caria is entirely too short. But, as I have argued there, we are not to take Plautus here seriously.

THE DEATH OF MENANDER

By William Scott Ferguson

The excellent article of Dr. Clark in *Classical Philology* I,
pp. 313 ff., has convinced me that the archonship of Philippos,
and hence the death of Menander, do really belong to 292/1 B. C.
His proof, which is grounded on the sound maxim that the birth-
years of celebrities were often ascertained in antiquity by calcu-
lation, while the years of their death rested upon contemporary
records, starts with the pretty demonstration that Menander and
Epicurus became ephebes, the former in 325/4, the latter in
324/3. Dr. Clark is thus enabled to maintain the report of
Strabo that the philosopher and the comedian were συνέφηβοι,
while he discards the false combination that, for this reason, they
were both born in 342/1. 342/1 was the well-established birth-
year of Epicurus; the birth-year of Menander, on the other hand,
was 343/2, and since he lived 52 years his death occurred in
292/1, or, as is otherwise recorded, in the thirty-second year of
Ptolemy Soter's reign (323/2–285).

There are still some weak places in this argument, but it is
doubtless the best solution of the problem thus far reached,[1] and
it is not invalidated by Wilhelm's new doctrine of the βασιλεία
(*Urk.*, pp. 215 ff.), or by his redating of *IG.* II 2. 975 f. (*ibid.*,
pp. 63 ff.). In my *Priests of Asklepios* (p. 150) I rashly affirmed
that the location of Philippos in 293/2 was now beyond doubt.
This I should like to emend. What I should have said is that
the sequence Philippos-Kimon is indubitable; for that the words
used to characterize the activity of Phaidros, hoplite-general in
Kimon's year (καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ δημοκρατουμένην αὐτό-
νομον παρέδωκεν καὶ τοὺς νόμους κυρίους τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτόν *IG.* II
331), presuppose the presence in the city of the oligarchic leaders,

[1] Wilhelm *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen*, pp. 249 f., uses the same argu-
ments as Clark, but he is apparently afraid of the logical conclusion. Menander, he
says, "Konnte als Mann von (freilich noch nicht erreichten) 52 Jahren bezeichnet
werden" in the end of 293/2. In other words he was 52 in 292/1.

exiled in 307/6 and recalled in Philippos' archonship, should be
manifest to anyone who has studied the party struggles of Athens
at this period.   Beloch, indeed, asserts the contrary (*Griech.
Gesch.* III 2, p. 36).   But apart from the improbability of a
dangerous revolutionary activity being displayed by a small band
of dispersed and discredited exiles, we have the authority of
Philochoros, who states expressly that no constitutional ·crisis
preceded the return of the oligarchs.[1]   On the other hand, if the
danger referred to in the decree was the disposition of Demetrius
to re-establish the exiles, Phaidros could have had no share as
hoplite-general in averting it, since the pleasure of the king was
not revealed till the year of Philippos.   At its beginning it lay
in the province of prophecy to foretell the recall of the oligarchs.[2]

It may accordingly be taken as demonstrated that Philippos
preceded Kimon directly.   But so far as this *datum* is concerned,
Philippos-Kimon may be placed in either 293/2–292/1 or 292/1–
291/0.

Phaidros, however, as hoplite-general in Kimon's year, περι-
στάντων τêι πόλει καιρῶν δυσκόλων διεφύλαξεν τὴν εἰρήνην τῆι
χώραι, ἀποφαινόμενος ἀεὶ τὰ κράτιστα, καὶ τὸν σῖτον ἐκ τῆς χώρας
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καρποὺς αἴτιος ἐγένετο εἰσκομισθῆναι, συμβουλεύσας
τῶι δήμωι συντελέσαι . . . . (erasure of about 38 letters because of
some reference to Demetrius).   The country was thus in danger,
but the threatened invasion did not ensue, and the crops were
harvested in safety.   The attack was expected in harvest time,
that is, in March–April of 291 or 290.   This peril of Attica can
be brought into connection with two events only—with the second
revolt of Boeotia, and the appearance of the Aetolians on the
frontier.   The first of these occurrences is not dated strictly,
but from the general account of Plutarch (*Demetrius* 39 f.) it is
possible, indeed, that the siege of Thebes lasted as late as March–
April 291, but it is improbable that the prospects of the revolters
were at that time so good that the democrats in Athens were

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[1] Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Reiske), p. 637.

[2] *Ibid.*, τοῦ δ' ἐνιαύτου τοῦδε διελθόντος, ἐτέρου δ' εἰσιόντος.   Then follows the omen
of a dog on the Acropolis, and its application by the seer, Philochoros himself, to the
recall of the exiles. The annalistic arrangement of Philochoros' Ἀτθίς makes it clear
that we have to do with the beginning of the year in which the main incident occurred.

tempted to secede also, or that it was feasible for the Boeotians
or Aetolians to break through the Macedonian lines and menace
Attica in their rear. Still, this contingency cannot be excluded
altogether. On the other hand, the Aetolians hung upon the
Attic frontier in the early half of 290. This we know from the
celebrated *Ithyphallos*, sung when Demetrius came to Athens
later on, in Boedromion (September) of this same year.[1] His
point of departure on this occasion was Corcyra, where he had
been dallying with Lanassa, Pyrrhus' runaway wife, instead of
attending to his proper business. The Aetolians took the oppor-
tunity of his absence to plunder his possessions far and near.
They even seized the Delphic sanctuary (290/89, i. e., before
Boedromion, *IG*. II 309). The Athenians were obliged to fight
in their own defense. Hence the appeal made to the king in the
Ithyphallos to take the Aetolians in hand himself.

Another course was open to Athens in this emergency. It
might have joined the Aetolians and Pyrrhus, and thus have taken
sides against its overlord, and this was, in fact, what the people
wished to do; but a revolt at this time would have been most
unwise, as the events of the next few months showed. Hence
Phaidros took credit to himself at a later date, not for preventing
the revolt—he was too shrewd a man to jeopardize the honors he
was soliciting by appearing as the opponent of so desirable an
issue—but for forestalling its consequences. Secession, he claimed,
and with good reason, would have resulted in Demetrius' taking
the control of affairs from the democrats and giving it to the
extreme oligarchs, who, embittered by a long exile, would have
instituted a reign of terror in the city. The temptation to break
away from Demetrius was at this time all the greater in that, in
the very last days of Phaidros' generalship (supposing Kimon to
have been archon in 291/0), or in the very first week of that of
his successor, a Ptolemaic fleet under the command of Zenon
appeared in Attic waters. It conveyed a gift of corn to Athens,

[1] Athenaeus vi. 253 c. The last doubt as to the connection of the *Ithyphallos* with
the coming of Demetrius to Athens in September of 290 has been set aside by the
recent discovery of Bourguet (*L' administration financière du sanctuaire pythique
au iv*ᵉ *siècle avant J.C.*, pp. 141 ff.; cf. Pomtow *Klio* VI, pp. 92 f.) that the Pythia,
which the king celebrated in Athens after his arrival, came in October, not in August.

doubtless from Philadelphus, though significantly enough its
donor is not named in the Athenian decree from which we learn
of the incident (*IG.* II 5. 309*b*).   Zenon was probably commis-
sioned to incite sedition in Athens, but, as we have seen, Phaidros
and other moderates induced the Athenians to wait.

In summary it must be reiterated that, while the evidence thus
far presented favors 291/0 for Kimon, nothing decisive has been
made out.

No one knew better than Phaidros the state of Philadelphus'
preparations for a war with Demetrius, since he had been in
Alexandria in one of the years between 296/5 and Kimon's archon-
ship.   This we learn from the following passage of *IG.* II. 331:

καὶ ἐπὶ Νικίου μὲν ἄρχοντος στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν
παρασκευὴν δὶς πάντων ὧμ προσῆκεν ἐπεμελήθη καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως· καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν
χώραν χειροτονηθεὶς πλεονάκις καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους γενόμενος τρὶς τὴν πᾶσαν ἐποιή-
σατο σπουδὴν ὅπως ἂν οἱ στρατιῶται ὡς ἄριστα κατ(ε)σκευασμένοι παρέχωνται
τὰς χρείας τῷ δήμῳ· πρεσβεύσας δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτερον Πτολε-
μαῖον ἐκόμισεν τῷ δήμῳ σῖτον καὶ χρήματα· χειροτονηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ
τὰ ὅπλα στρατηγὸς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Κίμωνος ἄρχοντος διετέλεσεν, κτλ.

The space within which the embassy took place is thus sharply
defined.   It was not in Nikias' year (296/5): it was not in
Kimon's year (291/0 at the latest): it was, therefore, in one of
the four (or three) intervening years.   However, it is noteworthy
that in the same interval Phaidros held the generalship ἐπὶ τὴν
χώραν several times and had charge of the mercenaries three times.
Struck by this seeming impossibility, I suggested (*Klio* V, p. 161),
that πλεονάκις carried us back of 296/5, and Beloch (*Griech.
Gesch.* III. 2, p. 377) concluded that the order of events was dis-
regarded in that the embassy to Egypt belonged four years later
than 291/0.   This was, beyond doubt, harsh treatment of the text;
for elsewhere in the document the chronological sequence is
strictly adhered to, and it can, I think, be shown now that both
of us were wrong.   For to my contention the objection is fatal
that Phaidros must then have held the generalship ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν
before that ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευήν, or the praetorship before the aedile-
ship.   But this is unprecedented and quite unlikely; for the for-
mer office involved serious military duties, while the latter, so far

as we can judge, was a purely civil post. Against Beloch, on the
other hand, it can be urged that it is clear from *IG*. II 5. 309*b*
that Athens had already opened negotiations with Egypt in 291/0
or earlier.   Hence if the embassy of Phaidros is taken out of its
context in *IG*. II. 331 (295/4–292/1), and placed later than his
chief generalship, we are obliged to replace it by another quite
similar embassy.   In other words the embassy of Phaidros is
needed before 290/89 to explain the relations existent between
Egypt and Athens on the eleventh of Hekatombaion of that year.
It would be equally erroneous to date any of Phaidros' general-
ships ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν after 291/0; for in that year, at the latest,
he was commander-in-chief, and had thus reached the summit
of his military career.   Subsequently he held no lower military
office.

We conclude then, that, since Phaidros was general ἐπὶ τὴν
χώραν several times and commandant of the mercenaries thrice in
the four (or three) years between 296/5 and Kimon's archonship,
he must have held these offices simultaneously.   On the other
hand, we contend that from the moment it is shown that the gen-
eralship ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν and the command of the mercenaries could
be, and were regularly, held at the same time, it becomes unneces-
sary, nay inconsequential, to demand seven or eight years for the
tenure of the one office πλεονάκις (not πολλάκις, observe) and of
the other τρίς.   My interpretation of the passage is, therefore,
this: the people elected ten generals annually, among them one
ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν.   Upon the meeting of the new board the specific
district of each was determined, the constitutional definitions
being, of course, observed in the process.   Thus Phaidros was
elected στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν for four years in succession
(295/4–292/1) (καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν χειροτονηθεὶς πλεονάκις), and
he was put in charge of the mercenaries three times (καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς
ξένους γενόμενος τρίς).   In this dual capacity he exerted himself
stoutly that the mercenaries should be properly equipped and do
their duty (τὴν πᾶσαν ἐποήσατο σπουδὴν ὅπως ἂν οἱ στρατιῶται ὡς
ἄριστα κατ(ε)σκευασμένοι παρέχωνται τὰς χρείας τῷ δήμῳ).   On the
other occasion in which he was "home-general" he went to Egypt.
There is, indeed, an ambiguity in the words *now*, but there was

none for an Athenian of 275 B. C.   The institutional facts, as will
be seen in a moment, precluded such a possibility.

In support of this view, which the language allows, but does
not prescribe, the following reasons can be urged: (1) Otherwise,
Phaidros mentions nothing that he did as general ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν
notwithstanding that he had held this office repeatedly.   Such
modesty is quite without parallel in this document, and is alto-
gether unusual in decrees of this sort.   (2) It is clear that a
distinction is drawn in the inscription between χειροτονηθείς and
γενόμενος—the first being used of election to a magistracy, the
second of assumption of a particular command.   The author had no
stylistic feeling against the repetition of χειροτονηθείς seeing that
he used it again and again in consecutive sentences.   (3) The
general ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν was regularly in charge of the mercenary
troops, the several detachments being delegated to professional
ἡγέμονες.   (4) There could have been no general ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους,
since the mercenaries were technically, not ξένοι, but στρατιῶται;
nor is the title στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους ever found in the Athenian
inscriptions, though scores of them are extant dealing with reso-
lutions, dedications, etc., of the mercenaries.[1]

It may be objected that, if the generalship ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν
regularly involved the command of the mercenaries, it was unne-
cessary to mention the assignment of Phaidros to this duty.   But
there were other functions which might have been delegated to
him, and he was, in fact, intrusted with a different charge on one
of his several "home-generalships."[2]   When he was absent in
Egypt some one of the "reserve" generals had, of course, to be
put in control of the mercenaries.   Moreover, should the war be
beyond the frontier of Athens, the mercenaries, like all the other

[1] The *data* for these last two observations will be found in a work on *Hellenistic
Athens* to be published shortly.

[2] The μέν of the phrase ἐπὶ Νικίου μὲν ἄρχοντος (see above, p. 308) holds the military
commands together.   The δέ of πρεσβεύσας δέ simply contrasts with these the duties
of an ambassador: it need not divide the embassy from the generalships in point of
time; but, should anyone think this to be the case, he may place the embassy in
292/1 and the mercenary commands in the three preceding years.   In fact, this was
probably the way in which they were distributed, and the opening of negotiations with
Egypt was doubtless connected directly with the return of the oligarchic exiles in the
archonship of Philippos (292/1).

active troops, passed regularly over to the conduct of the hoplite-general. The addition καὶ γενόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους τρίς thus adds the idea of home (not foreign) service, and hence, of domestic danger on three occasions between 296/5 and 291/0.

πλεονάκις accordingly equals τετράκις. The word implied more than the numeral adverb, and hence was preferred. It could not equal τρίς, as would be necessary if Kimon were archon in 292/1; not simply in that "three times" and "several times" are hardly equivalent, but in that, one year being given to the Egyptian embassy, two alone would remain for service with the mercenaries. Hence we conclude that Kimon was archon in 291/0 and Philippos his immediate predecessor in 292/1.

We have thus reached the conclusion from epigraphical and historical considerations to which Clark has come from examining the biographical *data*, namely that Menander died in 292/1, in the archonship of Philippos. This involves an important inference—not simply that there is an omission of a name before Philippos in the archon-list given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus *De Dinarch.* 9 (Reiske, pp. 647 ff.), but that the name which has fallen out is Charinos; for this archon manifestly preceded 289/8 by a short interval.[1] 292/1–290/89 being occupied by Philippos, Kimon, and Diokles, and there being no vacancy prior to 295/4, he can belong only to 294/3 or 293/2. The first of these years, however, must be assigned to Olympiodoros. The year of the re-establishment of democratic institutions had to be given to this distinguished liberal; and, moreover, the solitary decree (*IG.* II 302) of Olympiodoros' archonship betrays restoration politics. Hence Charinos and the gap in Dionysius belong together in 293/2.

Dionysius professes to lay before us the names of seventy archons, Nikophemos in 361/0 being the first. He divides them into four groups, the first ending with Pythodelos in 336/5, the second with Philokles in 322/1, the third of fifteen years with Anaxikrates in 307/6, and the fourth likewise of fifteen years with Philippos in 292/1.[2] It thus resulted that Kairimos (308/7)

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[1] *Priests of Asklepios*, p. 150.

[2] That the first period of fifteen years began with Philokles in 322/1 is clear from both the text and the archon-table of Dionysius; that the second began with 307/6 is explicitly stated twice. Dionysius, doubtless, had as many names between 307/6 and

was all but last in the third group, and Charinos (293/2) all but last in the fourth group.   Dionysius, moreover, was accurate in distinguishing between the names of these two archons, but his contemporaries were not equally careful; for in Diodoros (xx. 37) the archon for 308/7 is named Charinos.   That is to say, another list of Athenian archons used in Roman times had Charinos twice, once erroneously in 308/7, as we have learned from the new fragment of the Parian Chronicle,[1] and once correctly in 293/2.[2]   We thus come very near an explanation of the omission of Charinos in Dionysius' list.   How it entered into the head of an editor (a scribe was hardly culpable) to retain Kairimos in 308/7 and abandon Charinos in 293/2, it is impossible to demonstrate, but easy to imagine.   He may have found a marginal note defending Kairimos and rejecting Charinos in the second last place in the third group, and, acting upon the misapprehension that the protest was against the only Charinos he could find in his author's list, he may have struck out the archon-name for 293/2 — the second last year of the fourth group.

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Philippos as he had between 322/1 and 307/6, i. e., 14.   But as the list stands in our manuscripts there are but thirteen in the former place.   Consequently one has fallen out.   The only escape from this conclusion requires the assumption of two errors on Dionysius' part, first in giving 69 names while professing to give 70, and secondly in writing a 15 where he should have written 14.

[1] Wilhelm and Krispi *Ath. Mitt.* 1897, pp. 183 ff. and especially p. 209.

[2] Usener *Epicurea*, pp. 132 f.; Seneca *Epist.* ii. 6. 9=18. 9.

SOME UNFAMILIAR USES OF *IDEM* AND *ISDEM* IN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

By E. H. Sturtevant

I. Introductory. — A passage[1] in Fabretti's posthumous collection of Latin inscriptions, published in 1702, called the attention of scholars to a remarkable peculiarity of certain Latin epitaphs found, most of them, in the city of Rome. They seemed to contain two hitherto unrecognized forms of the dative singular of *idem*, one spelled *idem* and the other *isdem*. The following five inscriptions are typical examples:[2]

1. *CIL.* VI 15389. Dis Manib(us). Claudiae Cypare fecit Claudius Felix libertae suae piissimae IDEM coniugi et sibi.
2. VI 16306. Dis M(anibus). L. Cornelius Saturninus vix(it) a(nnis) XL. Cornelia Sumferousa patrono suo IDEM coniugi bene merenti.
3. VI 21325. D(is) M(anibus). Liciniae Fortunatae optimae et sanctissimae libertae ISDEM coniugi T. Licinius Sentianus bene merenti fec(it) et sibi.
4. VI 16534*b*. Dis Man(ibus). Cn. Cossutius Cladus. Cn. Cossutius. Agathangelus fratri suo ISDEM liberto bene merenti f(ecit). Vixit annis XXXV.
5. VI 24711. Dis Manibus L. Ponti Callisti. Pontia Briseis patrono ISDEM coniugi b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).

Ritschl pointed out that there is no phonetic difficulty in the way of regarding *idem* as a product of contraction, like the nominative plural *īdem* beside the restored *eidem*. He suggested that the occurrence of *isdem* in the dative must be due to the existence

[1] Fabretti *Inscr. antiq. . . . . . expl.*, pp. 291 ff. Fabretti merely stated the fact that idem and isdem appear where et or eidem would be expected. Ritschl *Rhein. Mus.* XIV, p. 380=*Opusc.* IV, p. 385 Anm., seems to imply that he called the strange forms datives.

[2] Other examples are the following: idem with masculine subject, *CIL.* VI 5778, 8801, 10219, 12162, 13773, 14529, 14841, 14930*b*, 16899, 18017, 20675, 22355*a*, 25485, 25504, 26281, 29956, 35503, X 573, 2412, XI 4487, XIV 564; idem with feminine subject, *CIL.* VI 1897, 5360, 6788 = 21853, 7368, 7788, 8449, 9975, 14970, 15600, 17951, 18212, 20270, 20331, 22009, 22137, 23363*a*, 23897, 24008, 24445, 25377, 35806, 28670, IX 1884, 5849, XI 60, XIV 2836; isdem with masculine subject, *CIL.* VI 9719, 10522, 21401, 25319, 35973, XI 4760; isdem with feminine subject, *CIL.* VI 9590, 11368, 11840, 12930, 13819, 14592, 15505, 15624, 16810, 18470, 21996, 22354, 28375, 34966.

of that form beside *idem* in the nominative masculine of both numbers. Ritschl's theory is followed by the handbooks of Kühner, Georges, Neue-Wagener, and Lindsay, except that Georges does not mention *isdem* and Lindsay expresses the opinion that *isdem* did not differ in pronunciation from *idem*.

But the dative *eidem* would make no better Latin than the adverb *item* in such inscriptions as the above. And, in fact, *idem* has usually been understood as an adverb by the editors[1] of collections of inscriptions from Orelli down to the present day. I have noticed only two exceptions[2]: Hübner emends *idem* to *eidem* in *CIL*. II 1286, and Bormann says that *idem* is used for *eidem* in *CIL*. XI 4487.

II. *idem* as an adverb.—That there is an adverb spelled *idem* nos. 8–16 clearly show. In nos. 6 and 7 a dative singular is syntactically possible, but the formula belongs with that of nos. 8, 9, and 10 rather than with that of nos. 1–5.[3]

6. XIV 439. L. Voluseio (mulieris) l(iberto) Dio, seviro Augustal(i) IDEM quinquennal(i). . . . .

7. XIV 367 (182 A. D.). P. Horatio Chryseroti seviro Augustal(i) IDEM quinq(uennali) et immuni Larum Aug(usti), ex s(enatus) c(onsulto). . . . .

In nos. 8–11 the only possible case of the pronoun would be the genitive.

8. XIV 318. D(is) M(anibus) L. Carulli Felicissimi, bis(elliarii), (seviri) Aug(ustalis) IDEM q(uin)q(uennalis) L(aurentis) L(avinatis), q(uin)q(uennalis) cor[p]or(is) vin(ariorum) urb(anorum) et Ost(iensium). . . . .

9. XIV 381. . . . . D(is) M(anibus) A. Levi Callisti, seviri Augustali (*sic*) IDEM quinq(uennalis). . . . .

10. XIV 383. D(is) M(anibus) L. Marri Moderati sevir(i) Aug(ustalis) IDEM q(uin)q(uennalis). . . . .

[1] E. g., Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* II, p. 531, *s. v.* idem; Mommsen on *CIL*. III 1193, and as quoted by Henzen on *CIL*. VI 10659, and by Hirschfeld on XIII 2016; Dessau *CIL*. XIV, index gram. *s. v.* idem.

[2] Mommsen *CIL*. IX, index gram. *s. v.*, refers to an instance of "idem indeclinabile," but he can hardly mean anything different from "adverbium," in view of the opinion expressed under the references in the preceding note.

[3] Another instance of the sort is to be found in *CIL*. X 1883. In II 1286, the original of which has been lost, Hübner unnecessarily emends *idem* to *eidem*. Either an adverb or a dative is syntactically possible.

11. XIV 407.   Dis Manibus L. Renni L. lib(erti) Philodoxi, mag(istri)
      quinq(uennalis) coll(egii) fab(rum) tig(nuariorum) Ost(is) IDEM
      Aug(ustalis); . . . .

In no. 12 the adverb *idem* stands for an ablative singular masculine.

12. XIV 2112 col. I, l. 9 (136 A. D.) . . . . [M. Antonio Hiber]o P.
      Mummio Sisenna co(n)s(ulibus) Kal. Ian. collegium salutare
      Dianae [   ] et Antinoi constitutum, L. Caesennio L. f(ilio)
      Quir(ina) Rufo dict(atore) III IDEMq(ue) patr(ono). . . . .

In nos. 13 and 14 *idem* may be the masculine plural of the pro-
noun used for the feminine; but an adverb makes no difficulty in
either inscription, and in no. 13 it is more natural than a pronoun.

13. XIII 1854. (litteris saec. III). Memoriae aeternae Exomni Pater-
      niani quondam centurionis legionari, IDEMq(ue) memoriae dulcis-
      simae quondam Paterniae Paterniane filiae eius; Tertinia Victorina
      mater infelicissima marito et filiae et Paternia Victorina patri et
      sorori ponendum curavit et sub ascia dedicaverunt.
14. XI 3206. M. Ulpio Aug(usti) lib(erto) Thallo proc(uratori) Flavia
      Inventa uxor et Ulpia Procula filia de se bene merenti; IDEM
      decurionibus, Augustalib(us), et plebei, coniugibusq(ue) et liberis
      epulum dederunt; l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

Where a dative or nominative would be syntactically possible,
item is sometimes so exactly parallel with *idem* that one can hardly
avoid understanding both words in the same way; e. g., nos. 15
and 16.[1]

15. X 542 = XIV 425.   T. Testio Helpidiano, seviro Aug(ustali) IDEM
      q(uin)q(uennali) ITEM patrono et q(uin)q(uennali) corporis tre-
      iectus marmorariorum, IIII Testii Helpidianus, Priscus, Priscianus,
      et Felix, fili et heredes, patri dulcissimo.
16. VI 18616. Diis Manibus sac(rum). Fuficia C. l(iberta) Nymphe
      fecit sibi et P. Valerio P. lib(erto) Addmeto, coniugi suo carissimo,
      IDEM libertis libertabusque suis posterisque eorum, excepto Forte
      liberto.   ITEM C. Iulio Fausto et C. Iulio Saturnino et C. Clodio C.
      filio Tyranno fratribus meis pientissimis hoc monumentum feci,
      IDEM libertis et libertabusque suis posterisque eorum.

The editors of the *Corpus* seem to think of *idem* as merely an
orthographical variation of *item*.   It is true that final *d* and *t* are
often confused in writing, as a result of the varying pronuncia-
tion induced by assimilation to the initial of the following word;

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[1] *CIL.* VI 22819 is another, I think, but the inscription is very difficult.

but no such reason can be assigned for a variation between *d* and *t* in the interior of a word, and the indices of the *Corpus* show that it is actually very rare.   Aside from the common *adque* and *quodannis*, I find *d* for *t* only in *imudavit=immutavit CIL.* II 462, *tigidos=digitos* X 8249 (an incantation), *adtamen* XII 944, and *parendibus*, Brambach *CIRh.* 1238.

It may be, however, that *idem* really is a pendant of *item*.   For the latter plainly belongs to the *idem* group.   Even in point of etymology, I think, it should be regarded as coming from *itidem*[1] (from **ita-dem*) by haplology.   At any rate, their similar meaning must have brought the pronoun and ·adverb so close together in the linguistic consciousness that *item* might tend to become *idem* by analogy with *idem, itidem,* and the rest.

It is also possible that we have here the neuter accusative of the pronoun used adverbially.   This explanation is supported by *CIL.* XI 1074 (cited below as no. 26), where *eadem* seems to be neuter accusative plural used adverbially.   We shall notice a third possibility later on.

III. No proof of a dative singular *idem.*—While *idem* occurs where neither a nominative nor a dative can be construed, I do ·not know of any inscription where we must take *idem* as a dative. On the other hand, it obviously may be a dative in such inscriptions as nos. 1 and 2; and, besides, a dissyllabic dative from this pronoun is what one would expect.   For the dative of the uncompounded *is* is monosyllabic in Catullus lxxxii. 3, and the spelling[2] *iei*, twice in *CIL.* I 205, must indicate the pronunciation *ī*.   Still, so far as I know, the only evidence for *idem* as a dative singular is furnished by two hexameter verses, Lucilius 1231 (Marx) and Manilius iii. 73.   They are, respectively:

> uni se atque EIDEM studio omnes dedere et arti,

and

> ordine sub certo duxit, pars semper ut EIDEM.

[1] The retention of *itidem* in slow or emphatic utterance is, of course, nothing strange.

[2] Sommer *Handbuch der lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre*, p. 449, understands it as indicating the pronunciation *iī*, which he thinks is due to the analogy of the nominative and dative-ablative plural.   I have shown *(Contraction in the Case Forms of the Latin io- and iā-Stems*, pp. 11 ff., 22 f., and 32), that *ii* and *iis* never represented the pronunciation in those cases.   I have discussed the spelling *iei* for *ī* in republican inscriptions, *loc. cit.,* pp. 8, 28.

Both may be examples of synizesis like Vergil's *ferrei, Aen.*
vi. 280.   The Lucilius instance may be due to iambic shortening.
They certainly do not prove the existence of a dative singular
ĭdem.

IV. Nominative singular feminine *idem.*—It is possible, as has
been said, to construe *idem* as an adverb in all such inscriptions
as nos. 1 and 2 above, and, in fact, in most of its epigraphical
occurrences which do not fall into the usual syntactic categories.
There is, however, a good deal of evidence that *ĭdem* is sometimes
a nominative singular feminine.   No. 17 is a hexameter verse, and
requires a spondee where *idem* stands.

17.   V 6202 = Bücheler *Carm. Ep.* 740.
            Cervia quae IDEM vixit Abundantia saeclo,

The inscription has seven false quantities in its five lines, though
one of them (*Ābundantia*) may be excused as occurring in a proper
name not otherwise to be got into the verse.   Such evidence would,
of course, have little weight if it stood by itself.

In nos. 18–20 *idem* is more naturally understood as a nomina-
tive singular feminine than as an adverb.

18.   VIII 19198.   Iovi Optimo Maximo res pub(lica) Silensium decreto
      decur(ionum) sua p(ecunia) f(ecit) IDEMq(ue) dedicavit.
19.   XI 3080.   Ex voto Matri deum mag(nae) Diacritamenae [I]ulia
      Tigranis regis f(ilia) Ammia [a] solo fecit, IDEMque dedicavit.

It must be confessed that there are not a few instances[1] of *item* in
similar inscriptions, but the nominative (as in no. 24 below) is
very much more common; and in a formula it is not surprising
that the common *idem* should be substituted for the rare *eadem*.
In no. 20 an adverb would be possible, but strange.

20.   VI 19659.   ]bona Ianuaria coniunx illius — IDEM annos XXX cum
      eo gessit et geret — fecit coniugi suo benemerenti. . . . .

Bonnet[2] quotes *idem* for *eadem* in Gregory of Tours.   I have
had no opportunity to examine the passage, and so I do not know
the context; perhaps it would be possible to interpret the word as
an adverb.

[1] E. g., *CIL.* VIII 12018, 14377, 14698, 15476, 15520.

[2] *Le latin de Gregoire de Tours*, 384.   His reference is to Mart. 86, p. 546, 27.

There are a good many inscriptions where *idem* may be either a nominative singular feminine or an adverb; e. g., no. 21:[1]

21.　VI 18032.　D(is) M(anibus).　P. Flavio Crescenti P. Flavi Amaranti filio—vix(it) an(nis) VII d(ie) I hor(is) X—Flavia Euphrosyne mamma IDEM nutrix fecit.

V.　Nominative singular feminine *isdem*.—The strongest reason for believing that *idem* is sometimes a nominative singular feminine is that the equivalent *isdem* must frequently ·be understood as a feminine.　That this interpretation is necessary in nos. 22 and 23 is quite obvious.

22.　VI 20222.[2]　C. Iulio Primigenio—vixit annis LX—Iulia Areschusa liberta ISDEM coniunx patrono carissimo fecit.
23.　VI. 17082.　D(is) M(anibus).　T. Duxsio Sagari Duxsia Tallusa libeta (*sic*) ISDEM coniunx patr(ono) b(ene)m(erenti) fec(it).

We have fifteen[3] more examples of *isdem* as a nominative singular feminine, I think, in the inscriptions like no. 5 above, with a feminine subject.　They must be discussed in connection with inscriptions of the type of nos. 3 and 4, which differ merely in having a masculine subject.

VI.　The nominative *idem* or *isdem* used in place of a dative. —We have seen that Ritschl, Lindsay, and others call *isdem* a dative, and think that it was substituted for a dative *īdem* because *idem* and *isdem* were equivalent forms in nominative singular and plural.　But we have found the existense of a dative *īdem* very doubtful; and the confusion theory is not attractive in itself.

Sommer (*loc. cit.*, p. 452) discusses the matter as follows: "In the later popular language the etymological composition of *idem* seems not to have been always clearly felt; at least the forms of the nominative singular, *idem* and the restored *isdem*, occur as

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[1] Others are *CIL*. VI 7790, 20018, 21458, 27196, 29527.

[2] *CIL*. VI 13670 differs from this only in not giving the husband's *nomen*, and in spelling *coniux* instead of *coniunx*. 13670 is taken from an inaccurate (cf. *CIL*. VI, p. lxii, No. lcvi) copy of 220 inscriptions which Ficoroni sent to his friend Gori about the middle of the eighteenth century. He writes that he had bought the originals in the year 1738, but had already sold them. Maffei, writing in 1749, locates the inscription whose text is printed above "in Ficoroni's collection." Of course, it is the same as 13670. It has been in the Capitoline Museum since 1775, when Guasco published the inscriptions at that museum.

[3] Nos. 26 and 30 below bring the total up to nineteen.

genitive and dative singular (with especial frequency in the city of Rome itself). This points to a fossilization of the pronoun in formulas." The statement is suggestive, but insufficient. The loss of a feeling for the etymology of *idem* can have had only a negative relation to the matter: it removed an obstacle to change. The factors which induced the change are still to seek. That we have to do with some sort of "fossilization" is obvious, and it is noteworthy that our examples occur in a fomula. As will appear later, I think that Sommer is wrong in taking *isdem* as equivalent to a genitive.

The starting-point of the development was, I think, the familiar construction of *idem* (or *isdem*) which Lane[1] describes thus: "*idem*, 'the same,' often connects two different predicates to the same person or thing. In this case it may be variously rendered by 'likewise, also, all the same, on the other hand, at once, very, nevertheless.'"

In the literature *idem* regularly puts a certain emphasis on the identity of subject, but not so in many epigraphical examples; e. g., no. 24.

24. VI 589. Silvano sacr(um). Cn. Antonius Cn. f(ilius) Fuscus aediculam cum ara et cratera d(ono) d(edit) IDEMque dedicavit.

This formula does not differ materially from *dedit, dedicavit* of VI 338, etc. From here it is but a step to no. 25.

25. VI 27556. D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). Pupus Torquatianus filius bonus qui semper parentibus obsequens vixit annis VIII m(ensibus) VIIII d(iebus) XIII, item alius pupus Laetianus qui IDEM fil(ius) bonus et obsequens IDEM parentibus vixit annis n(umero) V m(ensibus) VI d(iebus) VI.   Posuerunt Gaianus et Eucharis parentes.
. . . .

Here the subject of the clause containing *idem* has already occurred, but the purpose of the pronoun is to emphasize the identity of the predicate with a preceding one.

In no. 26 we actually have *isdem*[2] with a new subject to emphasize the identity of the predicate.

26. XI 1074. T. Al[fio?] Ecetio posuaerunt servi quos edukav(i)t, ISDE(M) liberta et servi [e]adem b(ene)m(erenti).

[1] *Latin Grammar*, § 2371.

[2] Parallel examples with *idem* are *CIL*. VI 15282 and 24532.

Our apparent datives in nos. 3, 4, and 5 are due to an extension
of the construction in a different direction. The essential difference
between the use of *idem* in no. 24 and of *isdem* in nos. 3, 4, and 5
is that in the latter *isdem* is followed, not by a new predicate, but
by a modifier of the preceding predicate. In other words, in the
formula illustrated in nos. 3, 4, and 5, *isdem*, though in agreement
with the subject, is used to emphasize the connection of two parts
of the predicate. The use of the nominative instead of the dative
or the adverb was also favored by the similar formula which puts
the words of relationship into agreement with the subject; e. g.:

27. VI 2334. . . . . C. Vibio Threpto C. Vibius Tyrannus patronus
     IDE(M) tata eius. ´. . . .

It is, of course, impossible to separate our nos. 1 and 2 from
nos. 3, 4, and 5. *idem* like *isdem* should be construed in this
formula as a nominative and not as an adverb. Consequently,
the twenty-seven inscriptions which, like no. 2, have *idem* with
a feminine subject should be added to our list of examples of
feminine *idem*.

There are three important limitations upon the construction
in the formula under consideration. There is always a nominative
expressed for the pronoun to agree with, the pronoun always
stands between two datives, and the usage is confined to the
forms *īdem* and *isdem*.[1] I can find no occurrence of the regular
feminine *eadem*. *idem*, however, agrees with a nominative plural
in *CIL*. XI 4488 and XIII 2774.[2] The fact that a nominative
always appears in the sentence shows, of course, that *idem* and
isdem were still felt to be nominatives. The limitation to the
position between two datives reminds us that we have to do with
a single formula that varies only slightly. But the exclusion of
eadem, *eidem*, and *eaedem* from the construction clearly shows
that the tendency was toward a fossilization of *īdem* and *isdem*.

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[1] *Iisd*. (nominative singular feminine) in *CIL*. VI 13819 is to be compared with the
nominative singular *eisdem* in *CIL*. I 576, 577, 1143 = XIV 3002, 1468 = III 1772. Both
spellings represent a long vowel that comes from a contamination of *idem* and *isdem*.

[2] Hirschfeld has not seen the original of this inscription, and he has changed the
recorded *iidem* to *eidem*. Of course, *iidem* stands for *idem* just as *ii* often stands for
i, nominative plural of *is*.

VI. A third possible origin of the adverbial *idem*.—On the whole, the construction of *idem* and *isdem* in nos. 1–5 is very nearly adverbial. Another step in the same direction, and we should have to call the words adverbs. It is, in fact, possible that the adverbial *idem* of nos. 6–16 above should be pronounced with a long vowel and explained in this way. In other words, these inscriptions may contain merely a still freer use of the construction of nos. 1–5—a use in which *idem* may take the place of genitive or ablative singular as well as of the dative, and in which no nominative need be expressed in the sentence; as, for example, in nos. 6–12. The spelling of no. 28 certainly indicates a long vowel.

28. XIV 345. D(is) M(anibus) A. Egrili Callistionis sevir(i) Aug(ustalis) EIDE(M) q(uin)q(uennalis); Cominia Secundina coniugi inconparabili.

It is quite possible, however, that *eidem* is a blunder to be compared with the nominative singular neuter *eidem* in *CIL*. I 204, col. II, l. 20.

There are two objections to this theory. In the first place, whereas *isdem* is nearly one-half as frequent as *idem* in the almost adverbial construction of nos. 1–5, it does not appear at all in the purely adverbial construction of nos. 6–16. This is the more striking as the nominative type of the formula of no. 11 does show *isdem* in no. 29.

29. XIV 299. L. Aquillius (mulieris) l(ibertus) Modestus magister quinquennalis collegi fabroru(m) tignuariorum Ostiensium lustri II ISDEM Augustalis fecit sibi et. . . . .

In the second place, while the formula of nos. 1–5 is evidently a peculiarity of urban Latin, the adverbial *idem* is extremely rare in the city of Rome. And conversely, though the adverbial *idem* is especially common at Ostia, the formula of nos. 1–5 occurs there only once. The two idioms seem to belong primarily to different local dialects. It therefore seems preferable to pronounce the adverbial *idem* with a short vowel, and to regard it as an adverbial accusative or as *item* made over on the model of *īdem*, etc.[1]

[1] Cf. p. 316 above.

By assuming that the adverbial *idem* was of nominative origin, we could trace to one source all the peculiar uses here treated. So simple a solution is very attractive, but mere simplicity can scarcely make a linguistic theory more probable.

VII. No genitive singular *isdem*.—In two inscriptions *isdem* has been understood as a genitive singular. One of these, no. 30, clearly belongs in the same category as no. 26 above. That is, *isdem* is used to emphasize a new subject.

30. VI 8860. Agathopus A[ugusti libertus] invitator e[t Iunia] Epictesis cu[linam (?) ex]struxerunt super t[umulum] suum propter me[moriam] Aureliae Epict[esis filiae] suae dulcis[simae.] Aurelia Ire[ne filia(?)] ISDEM fecit.

No. 31 is more difficult.

31. VI 8861. Agathopus Aug(usti) lib(ertus) invitator que(m) ad modum in introitum porticunculae ad monimentum Aureliae Irenes superposito titulo super ostium scriptura continetur, qui titulus attendit in horto, ea omnia de suo fecit quae pertinent ad monimentum sive sepulchrum ISDEM Agathopi quod vivus a solo et Iunia Epictesis fecerunt; . . . .

As it stands, *isdem* must be a genitive; but there is some reason to suspect the stone-cutter. It appears from the preceding inscription that the tomb in question was intended for Junia Epictesis as well as for Agathopus himself. The idea would be much more natural if we could transpose *isdem* and *quod* and read *Agathopus* —"the tomb which the aforesaid Agathopus, in his lifetime, and Junia Epictesis built." In no. 32 Agathopus expresses himself almost as I think he intended to do here.

32. VI 8862. . . . . pertinens ad monimentum sive sepulchrum quod Agathopus Aug(usti) lib(ertus) invitator vivus et Iunia Epictesis fecerunt. . . . .

The only other inscription I have seen which seems to have a genitive singular *isdem* is no. 33.

33. VI 11005. Aemiliano filio iucundissimo ac pio et ab omnes amantissimo, cuius per blanditiem refrigerium laboris creati sumus, Secundus et Sucessa parentes, item Sutius et Sutia ISDEM [   ]nutritores b(ene) m(erenti) [   ]qui vix(it) ann(is).

The loss of a corner of the stone makes it impossible to be sure what *isdem* means. If the following word has not been lost, *isdem* may be understood as a nominative plural and construed as *isdem* in no. 26.

VIII. Summary.—An adverb *idem*, equivalent to *item*, is frequent in inscriptions from Ostia and sporadic in others. The earliest occurrence that can be dated is no. 12 above, which belongs to 136 A. D.

The masculine nominatives *īdem* and *isdem* are frequently employed for the feminine *eadem* in Rome, and occasionally elsewhere. I cannot date any inscription that illustrates the idiom.

A large number of epitaphs employ *īdem* and *isdem*, in agreement with the subject, to emphasize the connection of two datives belonging to the predicate. The construction is confined to a formula which does not show very much variation except in word-order. It is briefly this: *Gaius Gaio fratri idem liberto fecit*. The usage occurs frequently in the city of Rome, occasionally in other parts of Italy, and once (*CIL*. XIII 2774) in Gallia Lugdunensis.

There does not seem to be conclusive evidence for a genitive or dative *idem* or *isdem*.

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PROHIBITIVES WITH ΠΡΟΣ AND THE GENITIVE

By John A. Scott

In this paper I shall try to show that prohibitions with πρός and the genitive take the present imperative in urgent advice, i. e., the interest is of the hearer rather than of the speaker; the aorist subjunctive in vehement entreaty, i. e., the interest is of the speaker rather than of the hearer. The speaker with the present identifies his interests with those of the hearer, with the aorist he ignores the hearer's interests or makes them his own.

The total number of prohibitives with πρός and the genitive, from Homer to Demosthenes, is less than seventy, so that they may easily be quoted. Homer, Hesiod and the lyric poets have no example of the present imperative or aorist subjunctive in prohibition with πρός. The first illustration is Homeric Hymn iv. 187 f.:

> ἀλλά σε πρὸς Ζηνὸς γουνάζομαι αἰγιόχοιο,
> μή με ζῶντ' ἀμενηνὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐάδης κτλ.

This is a perfect example of the constant character of the aorist subjunctive with πρός in prohibitions; it is urgent entreaty in the interest of the speaker, and has the personal pronoun με as object of the verb. This is the unvarying usage for Classical Greek. *Whenever the object of the verb is the first personal pronoun, the aorist subjunctive is exclusively used.* There are over thirty examples of this rule, and not one exception. Other examples with πρός in prohibitions are:

Soph. *Ai.* 492:   καί σ' ἀντιάζω πρός τ' ἐφεστίου Διὸς
                μή μ' ἀξιώσης βάξιν ἀλγεινὴν λαβεῖν κτλ.
      587:           καί σε πρὸς τοῦ σοῦ τέκνου
                καὶ θεῶν ἱκνοῦμαι, μὴ προδοὺς ἡμᾶς γένῃ.
   El. 1206:   μὴ δῆτα πρὸς θεῶν τοῦτό μ' ἐργάσῃ, ξένε.
      1208:   μή, πρὸς γενείου, μὴ 'ξέλῃ τὰ φίλτατα.

Although the personal pronoun is not expressed in this place, it is so clearly implied that Jebb was right in translating it, "Rob me not of my chief treasure."

   324

1483:   μὴ πέρα λέγειν ἔα

πρὸς θεῶν, ἀδελφέ, μηδὲ μηκύνειν λόγους.

This is the first example of the present imperative, the personal
pronoun is not expressed nor implied; Electra fears that Orestes
will lose his purpose if he delays, so to strengthen *him* she speaks,
she advises him for the accomplishment of his plans.

O. T. 326: μὴ πρὸς θεῶν φρονῶν γ' ἀποστραφῇς, ἐπεὶ

πάντες σε προσκυνοῦμεν οἷδ' ἱκτήριοι.

Even if the pronoun of the first person is not expressed, the
added phrase, "All we suppliants implore thee on our knees"
(Jebb), shows that it is for their own sake they beg.

1060: μὴ πρὸς θεῶν . . . . ματεύσῃς τοῦθ' ἅλις νοσοῦσ' ἐγώ.

The last phrase shows that Iocasta is in a state of mind where
she can only beg.

1153: μὴ δῆτα, πρὸς θεῶν, τὸν γέροντά μ' αἰκίσῃ.

1165: μὴ πρὸς θεῶν, μή, δέσποθ', ἱστόρει πλέον.

These last two examples, spoken by the same person to the same
person, show fully the distinction between these two tenses: in
the first instance the servant pleads for his own sake, to escape
bodily injury, hence the aorist, but when he sees that the con-
tinued search is to lead to the ruin of Oedipus, he shifts from
entreaty to urgent advice.   When he pleads for himself he uses
the aorist, when he urges the king for the king's good, he
changes to the present.

O. C.   49: πρός νυν θεῶν, ὦ ξεῖνε, μή μ' ἀτιμάσῃς.

514: μὴ πρὸς ξενίας ἀνοίξῃς

τᾶς σᾶς, πέπον, ἔργ' ἀναιδῆ.

1409: μή τοί με πρὸς θεῶν . . . . μή μ' ἀτιμάσητέ γε.

Tr. 436: μή, πρός σε τοῦ κατ' ἄκρον Οἰταῖον νάπος

Διὸς καταστράπτοντος, ἐκκλέψῃς λόγον.

Jebb's "Do not cheat me of the truth," shows where the interest
lies.

Ph. 470: πρός νύν σε πατρὸς πρός τε μητρός, ὦ τέκνον,

ἱκέτης ἱκνοῦμαι, μὴ λίπῃς μ' οὕτω μόνον.

486:      πρὸς αὐτοῦ Ζηνὸς ἱκεσίου, τέκνον,

. . . . ἀλλὰ μή μ' ἀφῇς κτλ.

749: πρός θεῶν . . . . μὴ φείσῃ βίου.

933: πρὸς θεῶν πατρῴων, τὸν βίον με μὴ ἀφέλῃς.

Ph. 967: ἐλέησον, ὦ παῖ, πρὸς θεῶν, καὶ μὴ παρῆς
σαυτοῦ βροτοῖς ὄνειδος, ἐκκλέψας ἐμέ.

1183: μή, πρὸς ἀραίου Διός, ἔλθῃς, ἱκετεύω
("Do not leave me").

1300: ἃ μηδαμῶς, μή, πρὸς θεῶν, μεθῇς βέλος.

Eurip. *Al.* 275: μὴ πρός σε θεῶν τλῇς με προδοῦναι,

El. 1165: ὦ τέκνα, πρὸς θεῶν μὴ κτάνητε μητέρα.

Here Clytaemestra pleads for her own life, and μητέρα is a more emphatic ἐμέ.

Heracl. 227: ἀλλ' ἄντομαί σε καὶ καταστέφω χεροῖν
μὴ πρὸς γενείου, μηδαμῶς ἀτιμάσῃς κτλ.

Helpless entreaty of the aged Iolaus for himself and the children of Heracles.

271: μὴ πρὸς θεῶν κήρυκα τολμήσῃς θενεῖν.

These are the words of the herald himself; hence κήρυκα is a more impressive ἐμέ.

Hipp. 503: μή μοί γε πρὸς θεῶν, εὖ λέγεις γάρ, αἰσχρὰ δέ,
πέρα προβῇς τῶνδ'.

The reading in the first verse is doubtful. I have used that of Weil.

607: ὦ πρός σε γονάτων, μηδαμῶς μ' ἐξεργάσῃ.

I. A. 1183: μὴ δῆτα πρὸς θεῶν μήτ' ἀναγκάσῃς ἐμὲ κτλ.

I. T. 706: πρὸς δεξιᾶς σε τῆσδ' ἐπισκήπτω τάδε· . . . .
καὶ μὴ προδῷς μου τὴν κασιγνήτην ποτέ.

Med. 65: μή, πρὸς γενείου, κρύπτε σύνδουλον σέθεν·
σιγὴν γάρ, εἰ χρή, τῶνδε θήσομαι πέρι.

Here the negative request is really an affirmative and equals, "Tell me;" it is too mild for the aorist, and by using the present the nurse identifies her interests with his, and promises to keep *his* secret.

712: ἀλλ' ἄντομαί σε τῆσδε πρὸς γενειάδος . . . .
καὶ μή μ' ἔρημον ἐκπεσοῦσαν εἰσίδῃς,

853: μή, πρὸς γονάτων σε πάντως
πάντῃ σ' ἱκετεύομεν,
τέκνα φονεύσῃς.

The tone is shown by ἱκετεύομεν.

Or. 1031: μὴ πρὸς θεῶν μοι περιβάλῃς ἀνανδρίαν.

Tr. 1042: μή, πρός σε γονάτων, τὴν νόσον τὴν τῶν θεῶν
προσθεὶς ἐμοὶ κτάνῃς με, συγγίγνωσκε δέ.

Phoen. 925: ὦ πρός σε γονάτων καὶ γερασμίου τριχός,
σίγα, πόλει δὲ τούσδε μὴ λέξῃς λόγους.

Creon is pleading with Teiresias for the life of his son.

Aristoph. *Vesp.* 919: πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, μὴ προκαταγίγνωσκ', ὦ πάτερ,
πρὶν ἄν γ' ἀκούσῃς ἀμφοτέρων.

The young man is trying to teach his father to be a fair judge,
and gives this advice for the father's sake, certainly not for his
own; hence the present.

1418: προσκαλοῦμαί σ', ὦ γέρον,
ὕβρεως. . . . . ὕβρεως; μή, μὴ καλέσῃς πρὸς τῶν θεῶν.
ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κτλ.

It seems to me a very easy emendation to change—μή, μή—to—μή
μοι; as the sense clearly is, "'Do not,' I pray." There is no
doubt that this is a request in favor of the speaker, as he agrees
to assume the risk. Reiske followed by Starkie wrote καλέσῃ.

Pax 322: τί τὸ κακόν; τί πάσχετ', ὦνδρες; μηδαμῶς, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,
πρᾶγμα κάλλιστον διαφθείρητε διὰ τὰ σχήματα.
376:                          μὴ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν
ἡμῶν κατείπῃς, ἀντιβολῶ σε, δέσποτα.
Thes. 228: μηδαμῶς, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,
προδῷς με.
Eccl. 562:   μηδαμῶς πρὸς τῶν θεῶν
τουτὶ ποιήσῃς μηδ' ἀφέλῃ μου τὸν βίον.

Lysias iv. 20: πρὸς οὖν παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ θεῶν τῶν τόδε τὸ χωρίον
ἐχόντων ἱκετεύω ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀντιβολῶ, ἐλεήσατέ με, καὶ μὴ περιίδητε κτλ.

xiii. 95: μηδαμῶς πρὸς θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων, μήτε τέχνῃ μήτε μηχανῇ μηδεμιᾷ
θανατον ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν καταψηφίσησθε.

Here the speaker identifies the interests of those slain by the
Thirty with his own, as a near kinsman has been slain by them.

xx. 36: δεόμεθα οὖν ὑμῶν πρὸς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἑκάστῳ . . . .
μὴ ἡμᾶς βουλομένους εὖ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν ὑμεῖς κωλύσητε.

Isaeus ii. 47: βοηθήσατε καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἐν Ἅιδου ὄντι, καὶ μὴ
περιίδητε πρὸς θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων δέομαι ὑμῶν κτλ.

Dem. xviii. 199: καί μου πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυ-
μάσῃ, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας ὃ λέγω θεωρησάτω.

256: καί μου πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῷ μηδείς.

xix. 78: πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μὴ ἀποδέξησθ' ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, μηδ' ὑπομεί-
νητε, κτλ.

This passage is neutral, it is for the interest of each, so that either the present or the aorist is possible, but the speaker chooses to identify their interests with his, so uses the aorist. He takes their own cause and pleads with them as if it were his own.

xx. 74: πρὸς Διὸς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μηδεὶς φθόνῳ τὸ μέλλον ἀκούσῃ, ἀλλὰ τἀληθὲς σκοπείτω,

xxviii. 20: ἱκετεύω ἀντιβολῶ πρὸς παίδων, πρὸς γυναικῶν . . . . μὴ περιίδητέ με κτλ.

xl. 53: οὗτος νῦν σχετλιάζων καὶ δεινοπαθῶν καὶ τὴν προῖκά με τῆς μητρὸς ἀποστερήσει; ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μὴ καταπλαγῆτε κτλ.

The με in the first part of the sentence shows in whose interest he is pleading.

61: πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μὴ ἐπιτρέπετε αὐτῷ, κτλ.

Here the tone lies between simple advice and entreaty, so the speaker chooses to advise relying upon justice and proof rather than to throw himself on their mercy and beg. He demands the dowery not as a favor, but as his right, hence the present. This is the only example of a prohibitive with πρός and the present in any of the speeches assigned to the Ten Orators, and this speech is spurious.

l. 2: καὶ πρὸς θεῶν ἄνδρες δικασταί, δέομαι ὑμῶν, μή με ἡγήσησθε ἀδολεσχεῖν, κτλ.

lv. 35: μὴ οὖν πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ προῆσθέ με τούτοις μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα.

lvii. 50: καί μοι πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς θορυβήσῃ, μηδ' ἐφ' ᾧ μέλλω λέγειν ἀχθεσθῇ.

59: καί μοι πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ δυσκόλως, κτλ.

Evidently a mannerism with the writer of this speech.

Epist. v. 1: δέομαι δή σου πρὸς Διὸς ξενίου καὶ πάντων τῶν θεῶν, μή με καταστήσῃς ἀηδεῖ καὶ δεινῷ μηδενὶ περιπετῆ.

No other of the orators uses πρός with the genitive in prohibitions. It will be observed that but three of the orators use it, and that they have but four examples outside of Demosthenes.

From the nature of the construction it could hardly be used in historical narrative, but it might be found in the speeches. Herodotus and Thucydides never use it, and Xenophon but sparingly.

Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4. 21: πρὸς θεῶν πατρῴων καὶ μητρῴων μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα.

These are the words of Cleocritus, the herald of the mysteries, who tries to persuade the Athenians that it is to their interest to cast off the yoke of the Thirty, it is for their sake rather than his own that he speaks, hence the present and not the aorist.

Sym. 8. 6: πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὦ 'Αντίσθενες, μόνον μὴ συγκόψῃς με.

Mem. iii. 6. 3: πρὸς θεῶν, ἔφη, μὴ τοίνυν ἀποκρύψῃ, ἀλλ' εἶπον ἡμῖν κτλ.

The personal pronoun in the second clause shows in whose interest the request is made.

Cyr. iii. 1. 35: πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, μὴ οὕτω λέγε, εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ θαρροῦντά με ἕξεις.

"If it is of any value for you to have in me a bold and hopeful follower, you must not speak that way, it is for your interest I speak;" hence the present is used and not the aorist.

Plato *Gorgias* 500 *b*: καὶ πρὸς φιλίου, ὦ Καλλίκλεις, μήτε αὐτὸς οἴου δεῖν πρὸς ἐμὲ παίζειν μηδ' ὅ τι ἂν τύχῃς παρὰ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀποκρίνου, μήτ' αὖ τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ οὕτως ἀποδέχου ὡς παίζοντος.

Here there can be no idea of entreaty; the use of δεῖν is conclusive. Socrates is trying to show to Callikles the only method by which truth may be reached, hence it is for Callikles' interest to follow the suggestion of Socrates, therefore the present is used.

Meno 71 *d*: σὺ δὲ αὐτός, ὦ πρὸς θεῶν, Μένων, τί φῂς ἀρετὴν εἶναι; εἶπον καὶ μὴ φθονήσῃς, ἵνα εὐτυχέστατον ψεῦσμα ἐψευσμένος ὦ.

Here the added words ἐψευσμένος ὦ show that the request is for the sake of the speaker, as he is to receive a knowledge now in possession of the one addressed, hence the speaker is to be benefited, and the aorist is used.

Rpb. 506 *d*: μὴ πρὸς Διός, ἦ δ' ὅς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τέλει ὢν ἀποστῇς. ἀρκέσει γὰρ ἡμῖν κτλ.

Here the speaker asks for his own sake, he wishes to hear Socrates continue his discourse. The benefit is to be received by the speaker; hence the aorist.

There are no more examples of prohibitives emphasized by πρός and the genitive in Greek literature of the classical period. It will be noted that all but eight of these examples have the

aorist subjunctive. This form of prohibition is emphatic and excited and fits itself to entreaty, so that the present must be regarded as exceptional. In no example where the interest is exclusively of the speaker is the present used, and no case where the interest is exclusively of the hearer is the aorist used.

The present is "monitory or minatory," the aorist is simple entreaty. This distinction lies in the meaning of the tenses themselves. "The present imperative often produces the effect of an action that is watched," Gildersleeve *Greek Syntax* 405. In advice the responsibility continues, the result of the effect produced is to be noted, hence it is that the prohibitives with πρός and the genitive in advice do not take the aorist subjunctive, but present imperative.

With the aorist the result is the thing desired, the pleader is not concerned in the process but the attainment. In entreaty, where the speaker pleads for himself, he has only the achievement in view, the method is ignored; hence he uses the tense which points to the result, the aorist.

Classical Greek has no exception to the rule: Prohibitives with πρός and the genitive take the aorist subjunctive, when the prohibition is in the interest of the speaker, the present imperative when the prohibition is in the interest of the hearer.

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NOTES UPON MSS CONTAINING PERSIUS AND PETRUS DIACONUS

By Frank Frost Abbott

During a visit to Toledo, Spain, in the spring of 1902 for the purpose of collating the MS of the *Germania* of Tacitus which the chapter library in that place contains, I made a hasty examination of a MS of Persius which I found there. It can add little, if anything, to our knowledge of the text, but a few notes upon it here may be of interest to students of Persius, since, so far as I know, its existence has hitherto been unknown. It is No. 101. 25, and on the title-page carries the title: Juvenalis et Persii Satyrae a Johanne Greczero Nurembergense. Seculo XV in membranis conscriptae. The folios are not numbered. At the end of the Juvenal text stands: Juvenalis Aquinatis libri quinq: expliciunt Laus deo. At the end of the Persius text is the subscription: Finis est Persii vulterani satirici liber explicit per me Johannē greczer de nūrmberga Anno dñi 1461. The date and the place of residence of the scribe suggest some relation between this MS and Jahn's M6, which has the subscription: Scripsi Hartmannus Schedel de Nuremberga ex veterrimo libro coenobii S. Udalrici Augustae. Anno 1470 die 9 Martii. Laus Deo, but a comparison of the readings of M6 and the Toledo MS makes it seem very improbable that they are related. I add a collation of the prologue and of the first fifty verses of the first satire to show the character of the MS, following the Jahn-Bücheler text:

Prologus — 1 cabalino 4 eliconidasque palidamque 5 remitto] relinquo 8 psitaco, chere 9 nostra] nostraque 10 ingenique] ingenii 14 Pegaseium nectar] pegaseum melos.

Satura I — 2 hec, min] mi 4 ne] nec, Polidamas 5 pretulerint, nuge 6 examenve] examenne 7 quesieris 8 Rome, ac] at 9 tunc] tum, istud *om.*, triste] turpe 10 quecumque 11 tunc tunc] tunc 12 cachino 13 inclusi] incluti 14 anelet 16 natalitia, sardonice 17 leges] legens legens 18 coluerit 24 quo] quid, quae] q 25 rupto] ructo 28 digito est 31 Romulide 32 hyacinthīa] iacinthia, lena, 33 racidulum, quiddam] quidnam 34 phillidas,

hysiphylas 35 supplantat] subplautarae 36 assensere, non *om.*, poetae]
poeta 37 non] nunc 38 nunc non] nunc 40 viole 43 thus 46 hec 47 metuam
om. 50 Atti] Acci

The collation which follows I owe to Miss Susan H. Ballou of
this University, who kindly examined the MS for me in the mon-
astery of Monte Cassino.   It will be remembered that the text of
the *Peregrinatio*, commonly attributed to Sancta Silvia, which
was discovered about twenty-five years ago by Gamurrini is based
upon Codex Aretinus VI. 3 of the eleventh century and upon the
excerpts made from Sancta Silvia's work by Petrus Diaconus in
his *Liber de locis sanctis*.   The text of the book last mentioned
is preserved in Codex Casinensis No. 361.

The brief report of the Monte Cassino MS, which I submit
herewith, may supplement the fresh collation of the Codex Are-
tinus which my colleague, Dr. Bechtel, secured for his edition of
the *Peregrinatio* (cf. *University of Chicago Studies in Classical
Philology*, Vol. IV).   The value of the MS lies mainly in the
fact that it is helpful at points where the Codex Aretinus is
defective.   A fresh examination of it adds little to our knowledge
of the text, but the sources of our text are so scanty, and the
Peregrinatio is a work of such peculiar interest that even the
meager gleanings which follow may not be unwelcome.   I have
based the report upon Geyer's edition of the *Itinera Hierosoly-
mitana* in the *Corp. Scr. Eccl. Lat.* because his text contains the
readings of *C* from Gamurrini's first edition, since the appearance
of which no collation of the MS has been made.   The MS abounds
in abbreviations which, with one or two exceptions, it will not be
necessary to reproduce here.   In the collation which follows the
references are to pages and lines in the edition of Geyer.   The
majority of the readings given below are not reported by him.
Where they differ from those recorded by him in his critical
apparatus, the fact is indicated by the use of bold-face type.

105. 1 diaconi **dyaconi** *Geyer* 3 χ͞ρο **cristo** *Geyer* 4 diaconus **dyaconus**
Geyer 6 cupidinis 8 exobtaverim 11 iusta *a in ras. sed a man. prim.*
12 abomine 16 crassante 25 cetus ——— 106. 1 qûis 4 praecellentis 12
incognita actenus 23 opus solidum] opus solidum ut decorum 25 fertam
29 iste *ex corr., erat* asta ——— 107. 5 aquilone 5 davit 6 hortus in quo
10 ierusalem 11 golgotha **golgota** *Geyer* 11 salutiphere 13 anulum 16 *ante*

spinis *om.* et 17 dispoliatio 20 lampades] e *ex* a *corr. prim. man.* 21
argenteis] ar . . . . teis *tres litterae evanuerunt* 22 sci. sam *una littera
evanuit* 26 habet 30 illuc 30 arca ——— 108. 1 iñus xp̄us 2 scultus ibidem
ac 9 abitavit 10 columnas 23 ostiis **hostiis** *Geyer* 27 diabolo **dyabolo** *Geyer*
28 iebusei b *ex* s *corr.* ——— 109. 4 tyberii 8 honoratur (?) 15 osanna 16
lucidum 18 martirium 19 orab'it 21 bethaniae **betanie** *Geyer* 24 iusta *sic
semper* 26 davit 28 viridiarium 29 grandem 29 ibi est ——— 110. 1 abens
2 aberent 2 annuntiavit 15 arca 19 hebron 22 abrae *bis* 23 abitavit 24 abet
25 abraam 26 davit 27 odie 28 *ante* longe *om.* non; *post. l ras. unius lit.*
29 *post* abram *rasura duarum aut trium litterarum* 29 iacob! 31 abramin
——— 111. 9 cenavit 12 columne 16 sycomori **sicomori** *Geyer* 18 elias 25
odie o *evanuit sed spatium duarum litterarum non est* 28 odie *ut in* 25
——— 112. 7 ortus 15 habitavit **abitavit** *Geyer* 18 synagoga **sinagoga** *Geyer*
19 esaye 25 faul 26 tyberyadis ——— 113. 1 cuius] qui 4 que sinagoga ex
lapidibus *renovavit recens manus* sinagoga *corr.* e synagoga 7 erbosus
7 fenum 8 eas septem fontes *scripsit recens manus* 10 saciavit 11 nunc
est 12 nunc *om. post* lapide 14 matheus 15 spelunca 19 nichil *terties* 21
quicquid 22 diruebatur r *in ras. trium litt. man. prima scr.* 28 odie 29
elias *sic etiam 31* 31 domino ——— 114. 1 baptiste iotris 2 quo] quibus 5
vicesimo 5 sylo 6 ibi 10 ierusolimis 10 sochchot **zochchot** *Geyer* 10 inde 11
davit 11 phylisteum 11 eleutheropoli *sic etiam 13* **eleuteropoli** *Geyer* 12
abbacuc 13 miliario quintodecimo 16 dicta *sed multum evanuit* 20 cāpi-
taney 24 inde] n *ex* m *per ras. corr.* 28 abuit ——— 115. 2 memphis **mem-
phys** *Geyer* 2 babylonia *sic etiam 4* 4 eliopolis **elyopolis** *Geyer* 10 viridi-
arium 11 fenix 16 quindecī it̂ ≡ ≡ ceat *litt. ante* ceat *legi non possunt* 17
salē aū usque *rec. man. superscr.* 18 ginti duo 19 Augustamnica] augus-
tamnyca 22 sina 22 (ca)strum *renovavit rec. man.* 25 abent 27 quadtuor
27 seu amplius] ⫸ eo amplius **eo amplius** *Geyer* 28–29 vestigia . . . . (a)c-
cedit ubi autem *renovavit rec. man.* ——— 116. 1 mari 3 idem 4 colum-
nelle 12 logotetema 13 ligatus 14 ibi stant ipsius 16 egipto *sic in 26*
heremi hesint 21 porphireticum *sic. in 24* 22 qui *aut* quia 23 "rosseum
iacet "rubrum rosseum *lineolae superscriptae a prim. man. transposi-
tionem indicant* 25 filii 26 ūbi 26 ceperint 29 excisum **excissum** *Geyer* 31
harenas ——— 117. 6 ū promunctoria 11 promunctorio 13 habet **abet**
Geyer 14 oc 16 oceanum 13 ytalici 20 bucine 20 conchilyi 20 fondili 23
litore 26 umquam ——— 118. 1 abpellatus *sic etiam 8* 4 erba 6 amenus 7
abundante 25 aliut 28 hamalech 32 pharan ——— 119. 1 ammodum 1
cubitu 2 parent 2–3 edificavit altare domino 3 iste *om.* 4 hac 4 pharan 7
abitauūūnt 9 requi 10 soror septem diebus usque 14 plenus 21 syna
totum evan. 21 quadtuor 29 hostenditur ——— 120. 3 synay 19 syna 27
sarracenorum ——— 121. 1 ingens ē per 1 habens *superscr. rec. man.* 5
obtima 7 odiernum 9 federis 9 fixus 11 ambulare 12 harenam 12 ambu-
letur 12 eremi 17 quadtuor 18 egipto 18 destra 19 in ante.

FRIEDRICH BLASS

In the death of Professor Friedrich Blass, of Halle, on March 5, the cause of classical philology lost one of its most learned, most indefatigable, strongest, and sanest leaders. He was born January 22, 1843, and so had just entered upon his sixty-fifth year. He took his degree of Ph.D. at Bonn when he was twenty years old. Two years later he published a volume on Greek eloquence from Alexander to Augustus, a revision of an essay which had received a prize from the University of Bonn. Three years after that, when only twenty-five years of age, he published the first of his four large volumes on Attic oratory. Since then he has published, on the average, more than a volume a year. No living classical scholar, I think, has published so many volumes, covering so large a part of the field of Greek philology. The four volumes on Attic oratory were revised, and published in a second edition. Blass edited the texts of all the Attic orators, except Isaeus; he revised Rehdantz' exegetical edition of nine orations of Demosthenes, and he prepared a similar edition of Demosthenes' *On the Crown*. He edited, with commentary, several of Plutarch's *Lives* and the *Choephoroe* of Aeschylos. He wrote on Interpolations in Homer. More than any other scholar he brought to the attention of philologists the important observations and theories of the ancient rhetoricians, and he published two volumes on the rhythms of ancient prose. Much of the recent discussion of Greek metres is based on an article by him. His work on the pronunciation of Greek is the only learned and sensible treatment of the theme which has appeared for three centuries. He revised the first half of Kühner's *Greek Grammar*, in two large volumes, bringing together the linguistic facts with great accuracy, clearness, and completeness. He did more for the study of the Greek Testament than any classical scholar since Lachmann, by his excellent *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, which contains much more information than its bulkier predecessors; by his edition of the Acts of the Apostles, which called attention, for the first time in a serious way, to the importance of the Codex Bezae; and by minor editions of Matthew, Luke, John, Acts, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. He was the chief adviser of Grenfell and Hunt in their publications for the Egypt Exploration Fund. He did more than anyone but Kenyon to put in order the fragments of the papyrus MS of Bacchylides. His edition of the *Constitution of Athens* is the one most used. He edited the Corinthian inscriptions for Collitz' *SDGI*. For Ivan Müllers *Handbook* he prepared the treatises on "Hermeneutics" and "Greek Paleography." This is not all, but enough has been said to show that a Greek scholar need not be narrow in order to be productive.

T. D. S.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

AGNUS CURIO IN PLAUTUS *AULULARIA* 562, 563

Megadorus, the wealthy and generous bridegroom-elect, has furnished the entertainment and provisions for his own wedding, and naturally expects his father-in-law to be grateful. The miserly old Euclio, however, churlishly sneers at the quality of the entertainers and the food: the cooks that Megadorus has provided are compared to Geryones— they are six-handed in their thieving, and need an Argus to watch them; the flute-girl is bibulous enough to drink up a whole Pirene of wine. Megadorus at last hopefully suggests that the *lamb* which he sent was satisfactory; the verses, as they appear in all the MSS, then read as follows (561–66):

> Euc. quo quidem agno sat scio
> magis *curiosam* nusquam esse ullam beluam.
> Meg. volo ego ex te scire qui sit *agnus curio.*
> Euc. quia ossa ac pellis totust, ita cura macet.
> quin exta inspicere in sole ei vivo licet:
> ita is pellucet quasi lanterna Punica.

The *agnus curio* in Megadorus' request for information naturally led to an early emendation of *curiosam* to *curionem* (Gulielmius) in the preceding verse; this has been accepted by almost all the editors (Goetz-Schoell, Leo, Wagner, Ussing, Langen); Lindsay's conservatism in retaining *curiosam*, which I should add is confirmed by Nonius (455. 2) in his quotation of the verse, is a notable exception. Yet nobody has offered a plausible interpretation of the accepted reading (cf. Ussing, Wagner, Francken *ad loc.*); at best it is a coined word to prepare for the pun in *cura* in 564, and the possibility of connection with *curio*, the term applied to the priest of a *curia*, hinders rather than helps a satisfactory interpretation. Nor is the MSS-reading *curiosam* strengthened by *incuriosus* (*agnus*) in Apuleius (*Florida* i. 2), for the word there does not mean "fat" as used to be stated in the notes on our verse. Finally, the passages in the epitome of Festus (60 M. = 42 de P.) and in Nonius (86. 1) do not enlighten us.

In his edition of the *Aulularia* in 1877, Francken suggested that there was some connection with κούρειον, the animal sacrificed at the initiation of an Athenian youth into his phratry. But Francken could not make use of his own suggestion. This line of thought, however, is demonstrably right. The context is clearly Greek; if the references to Geryones and Argus and Pirene do not sufficiently prove it, the obvious

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translation of πανόπτης in *oculeus totus* (555) is convincing (cf. Ostermayer *De historia fabulari in com. Pl.*, p. 18).

Before I came across Francken's suggestion of a connection between *curio—curiosam* and κούρειον I had already made several efforts to turn the words into Greek; I am so bold as to think that the result carries conviction at once:

> EUC. quo quidem agno sat scio
> magis κουριῶσαν nusquam esse ullam beluam.
> MEG. volo ego ex te scire qui sit agnus κουριῶν.
> EUC. quia ossa ac pellis totust, ita cura macet.

The verb κουριᾶν means "to need a shearing;" the lexica quote very few examples of its usage, two of them from Lucian of long-haired philosophers, but others also, regularly of persons, from Alciphron, Aelian, and Artemidorus. To these I can at present add only one: Pherecrates, Frag. 30 (K.), and this is little more than the word itself as quoted by Photius, but it is satisfying to find it in the diction of comedy. Now a lamb that needs a shearing is quite obviously a sheep, and Euclio is but sneering at the age and consequent emaciation of the animal sent by Megadorus. I should of course be glad to prove from contemporary Greek sources that a lamb fit for shearing is a sheep, especially as Sterne's theory that "God tempers the wind to the *shorn lamb*" doubtless misleads the average reader into thinking that lambs are regularly shorn.[1] In default of contemporary Greek evidence I must be content with offering this quotation from the *Digest*, hoping that it may be confirmed by the experience of at least some of my readers; continuing a discussion of *agni*, the writer says: nam in quibusdam locis ovium numero esse videntur cum ad tonsuram venerint (Marcianus *Dig.* 32. 65. 7).

The manner of the jest is thoroughly Plautine. Both explicitly and implicitly Plautus uses Greek in his jests, and combines Greek and Latin, sometimes reproduciug his original source, often extending it, and occasionally inventing jests in Greek. As my space is limited, I may refer to the interesting account of this phase of his humor in Leo *Pl. Forsch.*, pp. 93–96. Nor will any sympathetic reader of Plautus object that Megadorus' request for information is absurd; it is true, of course, that if Megadorus knew enough Greek to use the masculine gender of the participle after hearing the feminine from Euclio, he would hardly need to ask the meaning of the Greek. But for the purpose of preparing the way for his pun with *cura*, the poet neglects the psychological requirements: a neglect which Langen's *Plautinische Studien* has made familiar to every specialist in Plautus.

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[1] The earlier parallels quoted in Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* suggest that the error is due to Sterne, or some intermediate source: " Dieu mesure la froid à la brébis tondue, Estienne, *Premices*, etc., p. 47 (1594); To a close-shorn sheep God gives wind by measure, [George] Herbert, *Jacula Prudentum*."

LACONIAN ΟΡΚΟΣ IN THUCYDIDES V. 77

In a decree of the Lacedaemonians offering terms of peace to the Argives occurs the following puzzling sentence: περὶ δὲ τῶ σιῶ σύματος ἐμελῆν (or ἐμενλην) τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις ὅρκον δόμεν δὲ αὐτὼς ὀμόσαι. There is a great variety of readings, but the best MSS have ἐμελην, ἐμενλην, or ἔμεν λῆν, the variations in the first words of the sentence being unworthy of attention on account of the parallel περὶ τοῦ θύματος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος in v. 53. Ahrens conjectured περὶ δὲ τῶ σιῶ σύματος, αἱ μὲν λῆν, τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις ὅρκον δόμεν, ⟨αἰ⟩ δέ, αὐτὼς ὀμόσαι, and interpreted thus: *de sacrificio Apollinis Argivi, si placet, iusiurandum in Epidaurios transferant; sin minus, ipsi jurent.* This conjecture is adopted by Böhme-Widmann (1894), and Hude (1901), but rejected by Stahl and Classen. Stahl reads μέλην τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις, ὅρκον δόμεν δὲ αὐτὼς [ὀμόσαι] *dei sacrificium Epidauriis curae sit, iuramentum autem (de ea re, i. e. sacrificium sibi curae fore) praestent.* Classen thinks that ἐμενλην is a corrupted form of some verb meaning ἐπιτάξαι, ἐπιθεῖναι and that the general sense is *wegen des Opfers des Apollo müsse den Epidauriern ein Eid auferlegt werden; sie müssten aber schwören, dass sie es darbringen wollte.*

The terms of peace offered to the Argives in this decree were the outcome of the defeat at Mantinea (418 B. C.) of the Argives and their allies by the Lacedaemonians. The war that was thus concluded had been begun in 419 B. C. by an attack made by the Argives upon the Epidaurians. The reason for this attack is given in v. 53 in these words: πόλεμος ἐγένετο προφάσει μὲν περὶ τοῦ θύματος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθαιῶς, ὃ δέον ἀπαγαγεῖν οὐκ ἀπέπεμπον ὑπὲρ βοταμίων Ἐπιδαύριοι (κυριώτατοι δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦσαν Ἀργεῖοι). For βοταμίων Stahl suggests, and Hude accepts, βοτανῶν. The meaning seems to be that the Epidaurians had refused to send a victim to the Argives, who, as being in chief control of the sacred lands of Apollo, claimed the victim in return for certain rights of pasturage upon these lands which were enjoyed by the Epidaurians.

The conjectures of Stahl and Ahrens are not only unsatisfactory in meaning, but, as Classen points out, the emendations of ἐμελῆν are not effected without disturbing the final clause δόμεν δὲ αὐτὼς ὀμόσαι which, if left untouched, gives a perfectly satisfactory meaning, namely, *that they* (the Epidaurians) *should swear to give* (the victim). This sentence, it should be noted, is the only reference in the terms of peace to the original cause of dispute. If, then, the δέ-clause tells us what is required of the Epidaurians—and the αὐτώς certainly refers most naturally to τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις—the first clause should tell us what is required of the Argives, who, as the other party to the treaty, do not need to be specifically mentioned. Now the Epidaurians were the allies of the Lacedaemonians, the victors in the war, yet they were asked to recede from their position and give the victim. Surely, then, the Argives, the defeated party, must also have been asked to make some concession. If they have

merely to tender an oath to the Epidaurians or to agree to accept an oath
from them, the latter might rightly feel that they were getting very little
satisfaction for the invasion and occupation of their territory. Assuming
that some concession is required of the Argives we should look to the
original dispute for a suggestion concerning the nature of the concession.
It may be assumed as probable that the Epidaurians had for a time sent
the victim in return for the privileges of pasturage that they enjoyed.
Their discontinuance of the custom probably followed upon a curtail-
ment of these privileges. Consequently the concession demanded of the
Argives should be a recognition of the rights of the Epidaurians to a
share of the sacred domain. It may seem daring to suggest that ὅρκος
here means anything but *oath*, when ὁμόσαι follows so closely, but it is
precisely ὁμόσαι that seems to rob ὅρκον of any meaning, and Stahl, it
may be observed, finds one of the two words unnecessary. ὅρκος may
also be used in the sense of Attic ἕρκος *fence, inclosure*. In proof of
this we have in Hesychius ὅρκοι· δεσμοὶ σφραγῖδος (cf. ἕρκος σφραγῖδος Soph.
Tr. 615); and the form ὁρκ- is also found in ὁρκ-άνη, *inclosure* (late ἑρκ-άνη)
and ὅρκμος· φράγμα. The form ὁρκ- is of course to be expected in a noun
formed with the o-suffix, while ἑρκ- is to be expected in an ες-stem such
as ἕρκος. Reading, then, ἔμεν λῆν we may translate: *in the matter of the
sacrifice of the god that the Argives consent to the Epidaurians having
an inclosure, and that they* (the Epidaurians) *should swear to give it*
(the sacrifice). περὶ τοῦ σύματος is a mere introduction of the well-known
subject of dispute. ἐμελῆν might be a corruption of ἐξελῆν, *that the
Argives should set aside an inclosure.*

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AN INTERPRETATION OF LONGUS ii. 15

An episode in the second book of Longus' *Pastoralia* describes a visit
of a party of Methymnaeans to the part of Lesbos where Daphnis and
Chloe pasture their flocks. The Methymnaeans are wealthy young men
enjoying a holiday. They man a boat with their own slaves, and coast
around the island fishing and hunting (ii. 12). At one of their landings
the painter of their boat is stolen by a rustic who needs it to repair his
wine-press (ii. 13). At their next stopping-place, which is near the dwell-
ing of the hero and heroine, the picnickers are forced to tie up their boat
with an improvised cable of vines. Leaving the vessel, they go hunting
among the hills. The barking of the dogs and the shouts of the hunters
frighten Daphnis' goats, which run down from their hill-pasture and
scatter along the shore. Finding scanty browsing there, they nibble in
two the rope of vines and the boat floats out to sea with the receding surge.
Returning to the shore, the Methymnaeans are enraged by their loss.
Seeking the culprit goatherd, they find Daphnis, beat him, and try to

drag him away. His vigorous resistance is seconded by other goatherds, and finally all parties agree to submit the case to the arbitration of the old herdsman Philetas (ii. 15). The Methymnaeans, after setting forth their loss, close their statement of the case with this sentence (chap. 15, end): ἀνθ' ὧν ἀξιοῦμεν ἄγειν τοῦτον, πονηρὸν ὄντα αἰπόλον, ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης νέμει τὰς αἶγας ὡς ναύτης.

This is the text adopted by Hirschig and Hercher. The Florentine manuscript, as reported by Seiler on p. 234 of his edition, has ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἰδὼν νέμει τὰς αἶγας ὡς ναύτης. ἰδών has been variously emended, with little success — ἰών Courier, ἀλύων Jacobs, φοιτῶν suggested by Seiler. ἵζων, which has been suggested to me by a correspondent, cannot be reconciled with Longus' usage. The verb is very rare in prose, and Longus does not use it at all, though he has about thirty cases of other verbs meaning "sit." Hirschig and Hercher are probably right in omitting the word entirely.

But not all difficulties are removed by the rejection of the corrupt ἰδών. What has a sailor to do with tending goats, by the sea or elsewhere? Hinlopen, quoted by Seiler loc. cit., recommended the excision of the words ὡς ναύτης. The passage has recently been emended by H. Richards (Class. Rev. XX, 1906, p. 21), whose brief note may be quoted in full: "It is difficult to make any sense of the last words. Read ὡς ναύτην and join it with ἄγειν τοῦτον. As he is a bad goatherd, they will take and make a sailor of him." This suggestion is at first sight attractive, but is open to objection. In the separation of ὡς ναύτην from τοῦτον there is an awkwardness that can hardly be paralleled in Longus' short and simple sentences. Seiler complained of even such an hyperbaton as is involved in Jacobs' conjecture ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀλύων νέμει τὰς αἶγας ὡς ναύτης; "nimirum tum oporteret verba coniungi ita: ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀλύων ὡς ναύτης νέμει τὰς αἶγας." Again, the Methymnaeans are not a press-gang of sailors, but well-to-do city-dwellers taking a short trip in a vessel which they have manned with their own servants (ii. 12). The clause ὁδοιπόροι ἀντὶ ναυτῶν (ii. 19) means, of course, only that they had to walk home instead of going by water. Finally, should it be suggested that ὡς ναύτην adds a desirable complement to ἄγειν, indicating the purpose of the abduction of Daphnis, it is sufficient to point to ii. 17, where ἄγω is used again with no explanatory phrase: ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὁρμήσαντες ἦγον πάλιν τὸν Δάφνιν καὶ συνδεῖν ἤθελον.

It has occurred to me that the explanation of the passage may be found in a play—not a brilliant one, it is true—upon a double meaning of the word αἴξ. Discussing the symbolism of goats in dreams, Artemidorus (ii. 12, p. 100. 18 ff. Hercher) says: αἶγες . . . . πᾶσαι πονηραί . . . . μάλιστα τοῖς πλέουσι· καὶ γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα κύματα ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ αἶγας λέγομεν. For the etymological relations of αἴξ, "wave," it suffices to refer to Leo Meyer's Handbuch under the word. It is to be observed that Artemi-

dorus himself is not dealing in etymologies in the passage just quoted— his efforts in that line are usually awkward enough—but making a statement about the colloquial idiom, to which there is no reason for refusing credit. Hesychius has the gloss αἶγες· τὰ κύματα. Δωριεῖς. Δωριεῖς is suspected by Schmidt, with reason; but the word may at least indicate that the gloss is derived from some other source than Artemidorus. On the other hand, the glosses of Suidas (*s. vv.* αἶγες, κῦμα) are evidently taken from Artemidorus. If, then, αἶγες was used colloquially in the sense of "waves," "breakers," the sense of the Longus passage would be: "He is a bad goatherd, who tends goats by the sea, like a sailor," who may be said to tend the αἶγες on the sea, that is, watch the waves. The double meaning is somewhat heightened by an additional ambiguity in ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης— "by the seaside," "on the shore," or "on the high seas."

<div style="text-align:center">Peabody College for Teachers   Campbell Bonner</div>

EMENDATION OF PLATO *CHARMIDES* 168*b*

The editions generally read φέρε δή· ἔστι μὲν αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστήμη τινὸς ἐπιστήμη, καὶ ἔχει τινὰ τοιαύτην δύναμιν ὥστε τινὸς εἶναι· ἢ γάρ; Jowett accordingly translates: "this science of which we were speaking is a science of something," etc. The point is a slight one, but I think that it can be shown that the more probable reading is αὐτὴ ἡ ἐπιστήμη meaning "science (knowledge) in itself (in the abstract) is a relative term (is of something)."

The preceding paragraph has pointed out inductively that there is no desire except *of* pleasure, no love except *of* the beautiful, etc., and has raised the general question whether there can be any ἐπιστήμη which is not *of* μαθήματος but *of* itself. To answer this question Plato recurs to the nature of relative terms generally, and begins, as is his manner, at the beginning by demanding assent to the proposition that ἐπιστήμη, itself, as opposed to μία τις ἐπιστήμη (167*c*) *is* a relative term. It would be quite pointless and tautological to ask whether this supposed τις ἐπιστήμη which by hypothesis is *of* itself is *of* something. The argument runs rather: (1) ἐπιστήμη *per se* is a relative term. (2) But other relative terms seem always to be *of* something else not themselves. (3) Hence there is a presumption against ἐπιστήμη ever being *of* itself. The first example given is τὸ μεῖζόν (in general) φαμεν τοιαύτην τινὰ ἔχειν δύναμιν ὥστε τινὸς εἶναι μεῖζον. Only after this general statement is its specific correlate given, namely, ἐλάττονός τινος. So starting from the fact that ἐπιστήμη *per se* has some correlate we are to ask: is this correlate as in the other examples something else or by a strange exception itself? Cf. αὐτή γε ἡ ἐπιθυμία, etc., *Rep.* 437*e*, and ἐπιστήμη μὲν αὐτὴ μαθήματος αὐτοῦ ἐπιστήμη ἐστίν, ἢ ὅτου δὴ δεῖ θεῖναι τὴν ἐπιστήμην. If I am right the error here as often arises from our failure to recognize the extreme minuteness of the dialectical links in Plato's argument.   Paul Shorey

HORACE *CARM.* i. 34. 14

hinc apicem rapax
fortuna cum stridore acuto
sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.

Though all the commentators (beginning with the scholiasts) support
the accepted interpretation, there seem to me good grounds for regard-
ing *cum* in this passage as the conjunction—"when (i. e., whenever)
fortune takes, etc., she rejoices, etc." Besides giving excellent sense and
avoiding the somewhat harsh asyndeton, this view makes it unnecessary
to account for *sustulit* as a gnomic perfect which, considering the context,
is a doubtful procedure. It also leaves the attendant circumstance in
stridore acuto to be expressed by the simple ablative. This is the usual
method in Horace. In fact, as an examination of the whole text shows,
he rarely inserts *cum* in phrases of this character. Moreover, *cum* with
the perfect indicative is the precise idiom for the expression of the ante-
cedent iterative action which we have here. Horace makes a fairly
frequent use of this construction, often introducing it with *simul* (or its
equivalent), *ut*, *ubi*, and *si*. With *cum* there are six examples, each a
perfect parallel to the *cum sustulit* of the text—*Carm.* iii. 5. 29; *Epod.*
2. 17; *Sat.* ii. 7. 71; *Epp.* i. 10. 17, i. 15. 18, ii. 1. 205. The position of *cum*
in our passage has doubtless led to the traditional interpretation, but the
same ambiguity exists in other places, especially in *Epod.* 12. 8 and
Sat. ii. 7. 53. A Roman would have felt no difficulty in any of these
cases.

J. ELMORE

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THE SECONDARY ACCENTUATION OF LATIN WORDS OF THE TYPE OF *CONSULUISTI*

In *Class. Phil.* II, No. 1, Professor Harkness criticizes a paper of mine
on a kindred subject which appeared in *Class. Rev.* XX (1906), pp. 31 ff.
In the course of his criticisms, which deal chiefly with minor points, he
censures me for suggesting that Latin words of the type of *consuluisti*
bore a secondary accent on the second syllable (p. 61, n.). He attributes
this heterodoxy to an unwillingness to admit any exceptions to my pro-
posed law of metrical resolution. I select this particular point for notice,
not because it is the one most easily disposed of, but because it affords
me an opportunity of producing some further evidence in favor of the
pronunciation which Professor Harkness condemns.

I suppose any word of the measure of *consuluisti* to have borne a
secondary accent on its second syllable, if other inflexions of the same
stem had a principal accent in the same place. Thus the principal
accent of *consului* corresponds in position with the secondary accent of

consŭluisti. I pass by for the moment the evidence to be found in
dramatic verse, and propose a method of testing the question which
should appeal to Professor Harkness with special force. It is rightly
held by most metrists that there is a deliberately produced coincidence
of ictus and accent in the last two feet of the classical hexameter line;
and that the special rules observed by the classical poets, by virtue of
which some ways of ending the line were allowed, others forbidden, had
no other object than the producing of such a coincidence. Here there-
fore, if we accept this doctrine, we have a means of testing the accentua-
tion of Latin words; and if the Roman poets paid attention not merely to
the principal accent of a word, but also to the secondary accent, then we
can test by this means the position of the secondary accent in words like
consuluisti. Professor Harkness holds that the poets did pay attention
to the secondary accent (pp. 52 ff.). He is arguing against Havet, who,
with Lucian Müller and some other metrists, denies this doctrine of an
intentionally produced coincidence of ictus and accent at the end of a
hexameter. Müller and Havet suppose that in some of the forbidden
endings there is a perfect agreement of ictus and accent, and that there-
fore, in those cases, the desire to secure such an agreement cannot have
been the reason for the prohibition. Havet selects the ending *mors
sepelires*, which is forbidden, although it exhibits, as he thinks, a perfect
agreement of ictus and accent. Professor Harkness replies that the
agreement is not perfect in endings of that type, because there was a
secondary accent on the first syllable of *sepelires*, which here begins a
thesis. Consequently, he adds, "it seems reasonable to assume that this
type of ending is avoided because the first syllable of the thesis would
be almost as strongly accented as the arsis" (p. 53). I agree with him
that the reason why certain endings were avoided was because they did
not permit the desired coincidence of ictus and accent; and that, as is
generally admitted, there was a strong secondary accent on the first
syllable of *sepelires*, which syllable was thereby unfitted to begin the
fifth thesis, properly unaccented. But how comes it that Professor Hark-
ness makes no mention of the fact that verse-closes of the type of *prae-
cipitauit, exorerentur*, are just as strongly forbidden? That is the very
type of forbidden verse-close which is selected by Luc. Müller as afford-
ing the best proof that the special rules for the verse-close were not
designed to secure agreement of accent and ictus (*Res. metr.*[2], p. 242).
Müller, of course, shared the customary belief that, if there was any
secondary accent at all in such words, it rested on the first syllable. He
considers, therefore, that in endings like *praecipitauit* there is complete
harmony of ictus and accent, and naturally infers that the prohibition of
such endings must have been due to some other cause than the desire to
secure that harmony. How would Professor Harkness meet that argu-
ment? He is on the horns of a dilemma: either he must abandon the

belief that the reason why any particular ending was avoided was because it would have involved the clash of ictus and accent, or he must show how ictus and accent clashed in the forbidden ending *praecipitauit*. I do not see how he can do the latter, unless he admits a secondary accent on the second syllable. Poets who, like Lucretius, freely admit endings of the type *mors sepelires*, also admit, and with equal freedom, endings of the type *praecipitauit;* poets who, like Virgil, strictly avoid endings of the first type, also avoid, and with equal strictness, endings of the second type (Munro *Lucretius*, Introd. to Notes II, pp. 13 f.). Unless, therefore, we deny that there is a designed coincidence of ictus and accent in the last two feet of a hexameter line, the avoidance of such endings as *praecipitauit* is opposed to the view that the secondary accent lay on the first syllable of such words. (The permitted and the forbidden verse-closes are given by Müller *loc. cit.*, pp. 241, 243; and by Havet *Métrique*⁴, pp. 53 ff.)

But perhaps Professor Harkness would seek to escape from his dilemma in the same way in which he seeks to explain the Plautine stressing *commóditatém*. He is unwilling to admit that Plautus violated the prose accent in such cases, and equally unwilling to admit that the prose accentuation was *commòditátem*. In these difficult circumstances he suggests that, although the normal prose pronunciation was *còm-moditátem*, there was in Latin what he variously calls a "tendency," or a "general tendency," or a "latent tendency," to "accent the first of two or more short syllables" (p. 52). With a passing protest against the use of the word "tendency" in such a connection, as being unscientific, I must deny that any such tendency existed. It is true that words of the measure of *mulierem* are normally stressed on the first syllable in Plautus; but words consisting of five short syllables are always stressed on the second syllable, e. g., *puéritia, Macédonius* (*Pseud.* 50, 347, 1152, 1162; *Trin.* 845) — a fact overlooked by Professor Harkness — p. 52, n. 1. But even if such a "tendency" had existed, it could not be used to explain the prohibition of such endings as *praecipitauit;* for the tendency must, ex hypothesi, have worked with equal potency against endings of the type *poscimus arma, condere gentem*, probably the commonest type of all, and certainly one of the most favored. Again Professor Harkness compares the Plautine stressing – ⌣ ⌣ – ⌣ with the occasional stressing of dactylic words on the middle syllable. The comparison is fallacious: the stressing *aduénientém* is found in any part of the line, the stressing *corpóre* only in the first foot.

To his own condemnation of my suggestion Professor Harkness adds a criticism communicated to him by Professor Radford (p. 61, n.). It advances two arguments. First, the accentuation *commòditátem* is said to be "contrary to the old Latin principle of recession (not to mention the earlier principle of initial accentuation)." I confess I do not quite

understand what is meant by the "old Latin principle of recession." As for the earlier principle of initial accentuation, *commòditátem* is no more contrary to it than *commóditas* is. So also, that *consùluérunt* should have replaced the earlier **cónsuluèrunt*, is not harder to believe than that *consúluit* should have replaced **cónsuluit*. Secondly, the accentuation *commòditátem* is said to be "disproved by the absence of proceleusmatics like *sed èxóneratús, et óbséqueretúr*." The reasoning is not quite sound. The absence of such proceleusmatics might be due to another cause. But, as a matter of fact, such proceleusmatics occur. Ahlberg gives two examples in his *De procel.*, namely, *id Ámphítruoni* (*Am.* 893), *eo èxánimatús* (*Bacch.* 298). They were not common, for obvious reasons. They brought a long accented vowel into the thesis, and they were metrically ambiguous.

In conclusion, I claim for investigators in the sphere of language and literature what Professor Harkness seems inclined to deny them — the right to call in question any customary belief whatsoever; to examine the evidence, if any, on which it rests; and to form an independent judgment, even though they be constrained to depart from the opinions expressed by the most eminent authorities of the present or the past.

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REPLY TO PROFESSOR EXON

I do not mention the avoidance of the verse-close − ⌣ ⌣ − ≍ for the reason stated p. 53, n. 1. This type is avoided by the more careful writers because it affords only a secondary accent for the fifth arsis; but it is, however, used more freely than the other non-classical endings (Winbolt *Lat. Hex. Verse*, p. 134). Hence there is no dilemma for my theory; but Professor Exon's theory encounters two dilemmas: (1) in spondaic endings the type *armentorum* is freely admitted, but his theory accents *armèntórum* (*Class. Rev.* XX, p. 33, "It seems to be generally true," etc.); (2) − ⌣ ⌣ − ≍ is the regular accent in comedy (*Class. Rev.* XX, p. 159; *Trans.* XXXIV, p. 68), his theory accents the second syllable. Again, words of five short syllables are not always accented on the second syllable, as Professor Exon claims (Ahlberg *Procel.*, p. 28). His five references to one proper name do not prove the accent of a type. I contrasted the relatively frequent use of − ⌣ ⌣ − ≍, − ⌣ ⌣ with the avoidance of ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ − ≍, ⌣ ⌣ ⌣, and state (p. 64) that the exceptions occur more frequently in connection with the secondary accent. Professor Exon's statement that − ⌣ ⌣ occurs only in the first foot is not correct (Klotz, p. 274). Of the two proceleusmatics mentioned by him one does not occur in the editions of Leo and Lindsay, and the other is at least doubtful (Ramain *Les groupes de mots*, § 310).

BROWN UNIVERSITY   ALBERT GRANGER HARKNESS

BOOK REVIEWS

Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren mit Benutzung des Attischen Processes. Von M. H. E. MEIER und G. F. SCHÖMANN. Dargestellt von JUSTUS HERMANN LIPSIUS. Erster Band. Leipzig: Reisland, 1905. Pp. 233. M. 6.

The decision of Professor Lipsius to meet the demand for a second revision of *Der attische Process* by compiling a new work was amply justified by the circumstances. The new material was too extensive and varied to be included without destroying the identity of the original work. Not only was it desirable to add a complete discussion of the criminal courts, as Schömann had hoped to do, but it was necessary to make many important changes and additions, owing to the discovery of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, which, besides furnishing a large body of new material, has inspired a number of important monographs and articles. Nevertheless few will witness without regret the passing of a work which for three-quarters of a century "sich als der zuverlässigste Führer zur Kenntniss des attischen Rechts und Gerichtswesens bewährt hat" (Lipsius).

The first instalment of the work which promises to be a worthy successor of *Der attische Process* opens with a historical sketch of the administration of justice in Greece. The succeeding chapters deal with the magistrates, the courts and courthouses, the arbitrators, and the judicial functions of the senate and the assembly.

It is obvious that no arrangement can be devised that would not to some extent involve a divided treatment of a number of topics. Still one cannot but feel that the book might have been considerably improved had the author begun with a classification and description of suits, rather than with an account of the officials charged with the oversight of the processes of litigation. The author's practice of referring to other books and articles for fuller information or proof, instead of giving brief summaries, is not always to be commended. For example, he might well have passed in rapid review (p. 4) the principal theories regarding the significance of the celebrated trial-scene depicted on the shield of Achilles, instead of simply referring to his own exhaustive article in the *Leipziger Studien* (1890, pp. 225 ff.). However, his interpretation of the passage is excellent. He believes that the dispute concerns only the alleged payment of a sum of money agreed upon as compensation for a homicide. The two talents in question have been "paid into court" by

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the defendant and are to be surrendered to whichever party wins the decision of the arbitrator. The reader is left in some doubt as to the author's opinion regarding the identity of the arbitrator, but surely Gilbert is right in identifying him with the king, who in this as in other situations is aided by his council. If this explanation, which is the only one that accords fully with Greek legal procedure as we know it, is not right, it is idle to attempt to solve the puzzle.

Since the publication of this book, Thalheim (*Hermes* CXL, pp. 152 ff.) has shown quite convincingly that the contention (p. 222) that the decision of a private arbitrator was not legally binding, unless given under oath, is not sustained by the proofs offered. Lipsius reiterates (p. 228) his previously expressed view (*Ber. d. Sâch. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1891, p. 58) that practically all private suits had to come before a public arbitrator. If this is so it is difficult to understand how in some private suits new evidence could be adduced on the day of trial (cf. Isaeus viii. 42; ix. 18). Aristotle's statements on this point need to be more thoroughly tested by an examination of the extant speeches. The chapter on the method of selecting and assigning the jurymen is particularly successful. Not only has the author made full use of Aristotle's somewhat obscure account of the procedure of his own day, but he has skilfully pieced together the meager evidence that bears upon the practice of the time of Aristophanes.

In conclusion I should like to express the hope that an index of passages cited from the *Orators* will be added to the completed work.

R. J. Bonner

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Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst. Von Paul Jacobsthal. Berlin: Weidmann, 1906. Pp. 60 and four plates. M. 3.60.

The main conclusions of this extremely careful essay are as follows: Babylonian and Assyrian art invented certain closely related symbols for the thunderbolt, adapting for the purpose the conventional means of expressing fire. One of these symbols was taken over by Greek art about the seventh century B. C., and was at once variously modified under the influence of the conception of the lightning as a flower. Of the new forms thus created three belong to Ionia and the adjacent regions of Hellas, two to Greece proper. With the fading-out of the flower-notion further modifications set in. Wings were sometimes added, flames were naturalistically represented, and, above all, the notion of the thunderbolt as a weapon became dominant. The multifarious forms which thus arose are well represented in the four plates accompanying the essay.

F. B. Tarbell

Ancient Legends of Roman History. By ETTORE PAIS. Translated by MARIO E. COSENZA. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1905. Pp. xiv + 336. $4 net.

This book is made up of the lectures delivered by Professor Pais at the Lowell Institute, with some additional chapters, and six elaborate excursuses. Its scope is indicated by the titles of some of its chapters: "The Excavations in the Forum and Their Importance for the Most Ancient Roman History," "The Origins of Rome," "The Legend of Servius Tullius," "The Fabii at the River Cremera and the Spartans at Thermopylae," "The Saxum Tarpeium."

Since the publication of the first volume of his *Storia di Roma*, Pais has been recognized as the champion of the extreme critical school, and a man who must always be reckoned with, no matter whether his views be accepted or not. In the present work he has developed his theories upon many points that were barely touched upon in the *Storia*, and has discussed other parts of the tradition with a most rigorous application of his critical methods. His present attitude seems to be that not only can no confidence be placed in any portion of the canonical version of the history of Rome before the Gallic invasion, but that much of what is said to have occurred during the fourth century is also impossible. He has likewise fallen a victim to the solar-myth theory, and shows a remarkable fondness for this method of explaining early legends, as when he says (p. 149): "Servius is a Latin conception and belongs to a solar cult, and to that group of legends with which are to be connected, not only Virbius of Aricia and Hippolytus, but also Pelops and Hippodamia;" and again (p. 150): "We do not marvel that a solar and river divinity should have been made king of Rome. Romulus, Tullius, Numa, and Ancus Marcius were all solar deities."

Pais's ingenuity is marvelous, and there is hardly a page that does not contain conclusions of the most striking kind which cause previous historians of Rome to seem like monuments of conservatism. But his fundamental weakness is this, that, basing his arguments upon hypotheses that are themselves uncertain, he proceeds to construct elaborate theories which finally assume in his mind the certainty of facts, and are then used as valid grounds for further inference. This tendency was held in check in the *Storia*, so that, to the present reviewer at least, that work seemed to rest on secure foundations, but in the present book it has been carried so far that the resultant product is a wonderful illustration of the *reductio ad absurdum* of extreme skepticism combined with a most vivid imagination.

The translation, being the work of an Italian, is marred by some peculiarities that occur with annoying frequency.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.   Vol. XVII.   1906.
          Cambridge: Harvard University.   Pp. 185. $1.50.

"The articles in the present volume are contributed by instructors in
the Department of the Classics as a token of affection and esteem for
Clement Lawrence Smith, of the class of 1863, for thirty-four years a
valued member of the department, but forced by ill health to resign the
Pope Professorship of Latin in this university in 1904." These words
from the brief prefatory note explain the purpose of the volume, which
contains eleven articles, to wit: "Notes on Vitruvius," Morris H. Morgan;
"Catullus and the Augustans," Edward Kennard Rand; "On Five New
MSS of the Commentary of Donatus to Terence," Minton Warren; "On
the Origin of the Taurobolium," Clifford Herschel Moore; "Aspects of
Greek Conservatism," Herbert Weir Smyth; "The Battle of Salamis "
William W. Goodwin; "An Unrecognized Actor in Greek Comedy,"
John Williams White; "The Origin of Plato's Cave," John Henry
Wright; "An Amphora with a New Καλός-Name in the Boston Museum
of Fine Arts," George Henry Chase; "Sacer Intra Nos Spiritus," Charles
Pomeroy Parker; " Valerius Antias and Livy," Albert A. Howard.

With such an array of articles, every one deserving particular mention,
the reviewer, with but little space at command, is confined to the most
general remarks. Professor Morgan's observations on Vitruvius confirm
his previous study in the conclusion that the author's language is
thoroughly in keeping with the traditional date which makes him an
Augustan. The paper by Professor Smyth is, with some additions, his
annual address as President of the American Philological Association for
1905. It states in excellent form some interesting observations on the
literary principles of the Greeks. Professor Goodwin's study of the
battle of Salamis, a revision and enlargement of an article published in
1885, will take rank as a classic, concluding the controversy, if I mistake
not. Professor White sees in the leader of the second half-chorus in
Greek Comedy an unrecognized actor. There is the same penetration
displayed here as in the author's study of the plays of Aristophanes in
relation to the question of a raised stage.

Professor Wright now publishes the paper which he read before the
meeting of the American Philological Association at St. Louis in 1904.
It would be interesting to find Plato's cave, but the cave of Vari scarcely
meets the requirements. Professor Wright discovers only one discrepancy,
namely, that, whereas Plato describes the entrance to the cave as equal in
width to the cave itself, the cave of Vari is narrowed at the mouth. This
objection was raised, I believe, by Professor Shorey. But there is another
which to me seems fatal. Plato speaks of a raised road-way running
across the cave, along which men carrying various articles pass, some
conversing, some in silence. Professor Wright identifies this road-way

with a platform in the cave of Vari, situated about two-thirds of the distance from the mouth of the cave, doubtless because Plato in that connection alludes to a Punch and Judy show. But Plato clearly had in mind chiefly a road along which ordinary way-farers were passing, though to the prisoners who saw only the shadows above the retaining wall the effect would be that of a stage of a Punch and Judy show. Such a road would naturally cross the mouth of the cave. I find that Professor Shorey casually places the road there (*University of Chicago Studies* I, p. 238) without reference to this proposed identification. Professor Wright may, however, cite in his favor the diagram of the cave given by Adam *Republic of Plato* II, p. 65.

Professor Parker gives in his article an interesting study of *Spiritus* = πνεῦμα in Seneca, Paul, Philo, and Marcus Aurelius. The view, now quite generally held by scholars, that Livy blindly followed Valerius Antias and embodied much of his predecessor's work in his own, is dispassionately considered by Professor Howard, who leaves hardly a shred of evidence to support it. The article is valuable even for this result alone, but acquires added significance from the fact that the search for sources has in our day gone far beyond its proper limits. It is time scholars were recalled to sobriety of method and a proper evaluation of evidence.

<div align="right">W. A. Heidel</div>

Wesleyan University

De epigrammatis Simonideis. Pars prior: commentatio critica de epigrammatum traditione, scripsit M. Boas. Groningae: Wolters, 1905. Pp. xvi+256.

While a student of Ribbeck's in the University of Leipzig, I belonged for eight semesters to the *Societas Ribbeckiana*, which met every Friday for a two hours' Latin discussion of some critical *cruces*. Notable among these was the text of Theognis, over which we labored and wrote and wrought throughout one whole semester. Inspired by this experience, I fondled the plan of some day "editing" Theognis—a plan from which I was wisely diverted by a philological veteran, who chilled my youthful enthusiasm with the remark: "Don't do it: much too big a field." Those experiences counted in preparing me for a sympathetic attitude toward just such work as this of Boas', however staggering it be to confront 256 pp. of close reasoning and elaborate research, weighing and considering the Simonideosity of less than 35 pp. of Teubner text:—and the end is not yet; for this is but the introductory part. How do we come by our collection of poems, which we ascribe to this author? According to Boas it is somehow as follows: The original poem, written by S. and engraved perchance on stone, is copied into literature; from that it is still further

copied into yet other literature, and thus the oldest text which we have, containing a poem by S., is a copy of a copy of a copy etc., etc., never the original itself nor even based on it directly. At some time or other a συλλογή of his poems was made by the ancients—presumably about 310 —and it became a sort of Simonidean *textus receptus*. The starting-point for all this is Herodotus vii. 228, where ἔξω ἤ instead of the genitive, as also the following ἐπίγραμμα· which "schwebt in der Luft," both give Abicht and Stein some difficulty in their commentaries *ad loc*. And yet on this marshy ground reinforced here and there by countless references to other authors, Boas has erected a fairly stormproof building: the first story of it is completed in the 256 pp. before us. Much in the συλλογή goes back to Ephorus: the συλλογή contained presumably 34 poems, but of those only two were recognized as being by Simonides in those writings from which the compiler had borrowed. Where such results are reached almost purely by speculative philosophizing, we would be bold indeed to accept them as certain—yet equally bold and inexperienced in *Quellenuntersuchung* to reject them entirely. One thing is certain: whoever wrote "Simonides" fg. 92 (151), inspired Cicero (*Tusc. Disput.* i. 101) to give to posterity one of even his most beautiful translations, and as such unique masterpieces of antique beauty are and should be quoted with a frequency otherwise unintelligible and well-nigh unbearable, so we owe great and permanent gratitude to the exhaustive dissertation of Boas, in which philological equipment, philosophic accuracy of thought, and a sympathetic love for his author and the problems to be elucidated combine to accomplish one of the most elaborate and exhaustive pieces of *Quellenforschung* of recent output.

<div align="right">CHARLES EDWARD BISHOP</div>

COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

Erichthonius and the Three Daughters of Cecrops. By BENJAMIN POWELL. Cornell dissertation. *Cornell Studies in Classical Philology* XVII, 1906. Pp. 86. $0.60.

This thesis contains a good statement of the story of Erichthonius and the Cecropides in literature and art. The work is based mainly on the books of Miss Harrison and on Roscher's *Lexikon* and Pauly-Wissowa's *Encyclopädie*, but the excellent articles on the Cecropides and on Erechtheus-Erichthonius in Daremberg et Saglio's *Dictionnaire* are nowhere cited. The discussion begins with the different classical accounts of the myth. Then follows an attempted explanation of its meaning and of the ritual connected with it. Powell, inspired by Brown's *Semitic Influence in Greek Mythology*, not a good guide, thinks that the sum of the evidence shows decidedly that some eastern or Semitic influence was brought to bear on the character of Erichthonius, a form of Poseidon,

who was probably the Euphratean Êa. Erichthonius was originally a chthonic or snake-god whom Athena adopted into her cult, but he was later identified with Erechtheus, Cecrops, and Poseidon. Powell argues at length for the symbolism of the snake as sexual and discusses in detail the relations between snakes and men and women, even explaining the ritual of the Arrephoria on a sexual basis. But the origin of any ritual or of any myth is very perplexing and not certain. And such a deep hidden meaning is not necessary for the connection of the snake with the legend of Erichthonius. The snake was an earth-spirit and would naturally protect Erichthonius who was autochthonous and born of Gaea.

In an appendix are printed in full the literary sources, and twelve plates are added with illustrations of the story in art. But no mention is made of the sculptures of the Erechtheum or of the theory that the Cecropides were represented in the west pediment of the Parthenon, though Pandrosus is said (p. 37) to be one of the "Three Fates" of the east pediment. There is also no reference to Wiegland's interesting suggestion that the two snakes of the east pediment of the Old Athena Temple represeted the two guardians of the new-born Erichthonius (cf. *Die archäische Porosarchitektur*, pp. 95. ff; pl. V).

The translations of the literary sources are frequently inexact. Lines are omitted (pp. 2, 5), phrases changed from one sentence to another (pp. 1, 38), and thoughts added which are not in the Greek or Latin (38). To cite only one instance of wrong translation out of several, οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν νησθεῖσαν πυρὰν ὡλοκαύτιξεν, (p. 32) is rendered "his entire body was consumed by fire along with an offering of grain." Misprints are rather frequent and there are several errors of statement. On p. 4 it is said: "Probus, Servius, and Philargyrius, commenting on Vergil (*Georg.* iii. 113), write that Erichthonius was a child of Electra and Jupiter." This is true only of Probus. In fact Philargyrius commenting on Vergil (*Georg.* iii. 35) says that Erichthonius was the son of Dardanus. P. 4, last sentence, the words quoted are not from Servius, but from Probus. The same is true of p. 6, l. 28. P. 6, "Eudocia" is not the Byzantine writer, but the *Violarium* is a compilation of the sixteenth century. P. 15, l. 27, the terra-cotta (Fig. 2) is not in the British Museum, but in Berlin.

The premature death of Dr. Powell a few days before the commencement at which he was to receive the degree of doctor of philosophy deprived the world of a scholar of promise already known to archaeologists by his publications on Corinth and Oeniadae. If he had lived to revise and to superintend personally the publication of his thesis, the treatise would have been much improved both typographically and in the treatment of the subject-matter.

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Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache. Von
　WALTHER PRELLWITZ. 2. Auflage. Göttingen: Vanden-
　hoeck & Ruprecht, 1905. Pp. xxiv + 524. M. 10.

Those who know the first edition of Prellwitz' dictionary (1892) will
be ready to believe that this second edition, enlarged and improved, is
an important addition to the apparatus of all who are interested in
linguistic research.

In judging of the merits of an etymological dictionary, one must
ask: What is its purpose? Is it to be a book in which only well-
established results shall find a place? Or does it aim to give the best
efforts of etymological investigation, though often confessedly uncertain,
in order to throw all possible light upon a wilderness of forms? No
doubt there is a place for each of these different classes. In consulting
the former we shall seldom be led astray, for little is given that is not
apparent to every one who studies the word discussed. The other,
bolder and more independent, strikes out into untrodden paths that may
lead to a clearing or to tangled confusion. Such a book will at times be
a dangerous guide to the uninitiated, but always a helpful and suggestive
companion to the adept.

To the second class belongs Prellwitz' dictionary. Such a book will
necessarily contain many errors: some easily discovered, others noticed
only by the specialist in this or that language. But what of it? The
cause of science is better advanced by the man who dares than by the
man who fears.

Though this book belongs to the second class, there is in it an evident
attempt to make it a guide to the layman. This seems to be the reason
why modern German forms are sometimes preferred to older forms.
This is unfortunate. The oldest obtainable form is all too recent. So
under πεῖρα, NHG. *Gefahr, erfahren,* are given instead of OHG. *fāra,
irfaran;* and under πάλλαξ, comparison is made with NE. *fellow.* As
this is equivalent to ON. *félage,* it would correspond to a Gk. **πεκυ-λοχην.*

A lamentable number of incorrect Germanic forms have crept in, most
of them no doubt due to the printer. I notice the following: OE. *dran*
for *drān* (ὀνθρηδών); OHG. *kerfan* is not recorded and probably never
existed (γράφω); Goth. *quinō* for *qinō* (γυνή); ON. *tal* for *tál* (δόλος);
ON. *ero* for OHG. *ero* (ἔρα); Goth. *riqvis* for *riqis* (ἔρεβος); Goth. *runa*
for *rūna* (ἐρευνάω); OE. (ags.) *bihwelbian* for OS. (as.) bihwelbian or OE.
behwielfan (κόλπος); Goth. *hruks* for *hrūk(s)* (κραυγή); OE. *maeð* for
mǣð (μῆτις); OE. *wrīhan* for OHG. *(w)rīhan* (ῥίσκος); OHG. *swīgen* for
swīgēn, gaswifton for *-ōn,* Goth. *sweihan* for *sweiban* (σιγή); ON. *skiljan*
for *-ja* (σκάλλω); ON. *stūkan* for *stūka* (στυφελίζω); Goth. *þevis* for *þius*
(σῶκος); OE. *þracian,* "fürchten"? (τάρβος); Goth. *deigan* is not recorded,
but *digan* may be inferred from *digandin,* dat. of pres. part. (τεῖχος);

OE. *sūfan* for OHG. *sūfan*, OE. *sūpan* (ὑετός); OE. *brysan* for *brȳsan* (φύρω).

Some inexact comparisons are made, though in some cases more closely related forms might have been given. E. g. βδέω, MHG. *vist*, cannot be directly combined. The latter has IE. *i*, as is plain from MHG. *vīsten*, *vīsen*, etc. κράζω, Lith. *krakti*, etc.; why not Lith. *krègu*, *krogiu*, OE. *hrōc*, *hraca*, *hrǣcan*, etc.? στία is probably not related to Lith. *stáine*, "Pferdestall." Cf. with *stáiné* ChSl. *stojati*, OHG. *stēn*, "stehn," etc. (cf. Indo-European *aˣ : aˣi : aˣu* 128). With σφριγάω cf. Norw. *sprikja*, "ausspannen, vor Fülle ausgespannt stehen," etc. (cf. Persson *Wurzelerw.*, p. 108; Falk og Torp II, p. 273). τραπέω can hardly be compared with Lith. *trȳpti*, "stampfen, trampeln." This probably has original *ī*, and may be connected with ON. *þrífa*, "ergreifen" (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes* XVIII, p. 16).

Not a few comparisons are made that might be objected to. But these are generally worth consideration at least. At any rate, doubtful cases cannot be decided by anyone's dictum. Leaving these out, one can still find combinations that are plainly incorrect. E. g., how can γρῖπος be compared with Goth. *greipan*, NHG. *greifan*? From δόλος strike out Goth. *gatils*, OHG. *zil*. If these contained IE. *e*, we should have **zel* not *zil*. From καλχαίνω strike out Goth. *glaggwō*, in which *ggw* is from *ww*; OHG. *glau*, OE. *glēaw*, etc. Goth. *glaggwō* is again given incorrectly under φύλαξ. νεφρός cannot be compared with OHG. *nioro* if φ is from *bh*. ON. *bjórr* shows a phonetic change that does not occur in the other dialects (cf. Noreen *Aisl. Gram.*, § 231). From παρά strike out Goth. *fēra*, which, as shown by OHG. *fiara*, contains *ēi* not *ē*. σοφός, Lat. *faber* (on which cf. Walde *Et. Wtb.*, *s. v.*), Goth. *gadaban*, etc., is an impossible combination. If *w* was lost after *d* in *gadaban*, why Goth. *dwals*? τεταγών, ON. *þukla*, which has original *u*, is also impossible. ὑδέω, OHG. *far-wāzu* (from *hwāzu*, OS. *hwātan*, ON. *huáta*) is a combination that has served its day, and should now be retired.

Throughout the book a reckless disregard is shown for the different guttural series. Examples can be easily found. But it is easy to pick flaws, and those who wish for more will find them in the reviews of Prellwitz by Leskien, *IF.* XIX, pp. 202 ff., and by Solmsen, *Berliner phil. Woch.*, 1906, Nos. 23, 24. Notwithstanding these flaws Prellwitz has produced a book that will long be serviceable.

In this review it may not be out of place to add other etymologies, mainly from my own contributions, to which Prellwitz seems not to have had access. Some of these I give with diffidence, as mere possibilities. Of others I am more certain: ἄγος: Lat. *eges-tas*, OE. *acan*, "ache" (*A.J.P.* XXVII, p. 59). ἀμολγός: OE. *blæc*, "black" (*Americana Germ.* III, p. 313). ἄεθλον: Goth. *auda-hafts*, "beglückt," ON. *auðr*, "Besitz, Reichtum" (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XVI, p. 309). ἄρμα, ἁρμός: Lat. *sero*, etc.

(*ibid.* XXI, p. 41). αὔριον: Lith. *aurè*, "dort, künftighin" (*A.J.P.* XXVII, p. 59). βραχύς: Goth. *ana-praggan*, "bedrängen" (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XX, p. 41). γύαλον: ON. *kiós*, "hollow, dell" (*ibid.* XIX, p. 2). γῡρός: ON. *kúra*, "untätig sein," NE. *cower*, etc. (*P.B.B.* XXIV, p. 530; *Mod. Lang. Notes* XIX, pp. 2 f.; cf. also Lidén *I.F.* XIX, pp. 342 ff.). Aeol. γρῖνος, "hide, skin" (not given by P.): Norw. *krine*, "schnörkeln," NE. dial. *crine*, "shrink, wither" (*I.F.* XVIII, pp. 15 f.). γένυς: γόνυ (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 32). γνάμπτω, Pol. *gnabić*, "drücken," etc.: ON. *knappr*, "Knopf, Knauf," etc. (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 31). On δενδίλλω see *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XIV, pp. 333–35). δέομαι: ON. *tión*, "loss, injury," etc. (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XVI, pp. 16 f.). δυς-: OE. *tȳran*, *tēorian*, "fail, fall short; be tired," etc. (*ibid.* XVI, p. 17). δῖνος: Goth. *tains*, "Zweig," ON. *teinn*, "twig, spindle" (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 334). διδράσκω: ON. *titra*, OHG. *zittarōn*, "zittern" (*ibid.* p. 340). δνοπαλίζω: δονέω + πάλλω (*ibid.*, p. 335). δρωπάζω· ἐμβλέπω, δρώπτω· διασκοπῶ: δρώπτω, διακόπτω, δρέπω (*ibid.*, pp. 338 f.). δύω, δύνω: OE. *tūn*, "inclosure," *tȳnan*, "inclose, fence; close, shut," etc. (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XVI, pp. 18 f.). ἕλος: Skt. *srámsatē*, "senkt sich, zerfällt," ON. *slas*, "a coming to harm," Sw. *slask*, NE. *slush* (*A.J.P.* XXIV, p. 44). ἕπω, ἕψω: Goth. *sifan*, "frohlocken," etc. (*Jour. of Germ. Phil.* II, p. 218; cf. also Uhlenbeck, *P.B.B.* XXVII, p. 131). ἐραννός, ἐραστός: Goth. *razn* "Haus," *rasta* "(Rast), Meile" (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 336). ἐρεύγομαι, Lat. *ērūgo, rugio*, etc.: OE. *rēocan*, "smoke, reek," etc. (*Jour. of Germ. Phil.* II, pp. 226 f.; *Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 308, base *reug-* "burst out, belch, roar, exhale, smoke, reek." Cf. also Schade *Wtb.*, p. 719). ἐρέφω: Lat. *orbis*, OHG. *rebo*, "Rebe, Ranke," etc. (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 13). ζόφος: Lith. *žėbiù*, "sehe schwach," etc. (*A.J.P.* XXI, p. 179). ἡμέρα: ἥμερος, OHG. *sumar*, "Sommer" (*Mod. Phil.* II, p. 475). θάλος: OE. *deall*, "proud, exulting, resplendent" (Uhlenbeck, *P.B.B.* XXVII, pp. 568 f.; cf. *Color-Names*, p. 59). θιγγάνω: OE. *dīcian*, "dig," etc. (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XX, p. 42). θρύπτω: OS. *drūbon*, "niedergeschlagen sein" (*ibid.*). ἰθύς: OE. *sīdian*, "extend," *besīdian*, "regulate,' etc. (*ibid.* XVIII, p. 13). ἵκω: OHG. *sīgan*, "sich vorwärts bewegen, sich senken," etc. (*ibid.* XVIII, p. 14). ἰξός: OHG. *wisc*, "Strohwisch," etc. (*ibid.* XVII, p. 18). ἰλλίζω: OE. *wlītan*, "look" (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 332). καυρός: MHG. *hüren*, "kauern" (*P.B.B.* XXIV, p. 529). κερκίς, κρόκη, "woof, weft," κρέκω, "strike, beat; strike the web, weave; strike a stringed instrument": ON. *hréll*, OE. *hrēol*, "weaver's rod," *hrægl*, "garment," *hringan*, "ring, resound" (*Amer. Germ.* III, p. 321). κλίβανος: Goth. *hlaifs*, "Brot" (*ibid.* III, p. 317). κλοιός: ON. *hels*, "Halsband" (*A.J.P.* XXI, p. 179). κνιφός: Lith. *knybau*, "dränge," etc. (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 30). κνυθόν· σμικρόν: ON. *hnoðre*, "Nappe, Flocke," *hnióða*, "schlagen, hämmern," Gk. κνύω (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 31). κύβος, κύπτω, Lat. *cubo*, etc.: ON. *hopa*, "weichen," etc. (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XIX, p. 3). κῡδάζω: Goth. *hwōtjan*, "drohen,"

OS. *far-hwātan*, "verfluchen," etc. (*Amer. Germ.* III, p. 322; *Mod. Lang. Notes* XX, p. 43). κυκάω: Lith. *kuszù*, "rege mich" (*A.J.P.* XXVII, p. 59). κύκνος: Skt. *çúci-s*, "glänzend, blank" (*ibid.* XXI, p. 179). κύρω: Skt. *cōráyati*, "stiehlt," OE. *hȳran*, "hire" (*ibid.* XXVII, p. 59). λάκις: OHG. *lahan*, "tadeln" (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XIII, p. 287). λαπαρός, λαπάρα: Lith. *sìlpnas*, "schwach," *slépsna*, "Weichen," ON. *slafask*, "nachlassen," etc. (*A.J.P.* XXIV, p. 42). λύσσα, Arc. λευτός, "wild": Goth. *-liuþ*, "Lied" (*ibid.* XXIII, p. 200; cf. also Uhlenbeck, *P.B.B.* XXX, p. 299). μάργος: Skt. *mr̥gá-s*, "wild animal," etc. (*A.J.P.* XXI, p. 179). μάρπτω: MHG. *merwen*, "anbinden, anschirren, vereinigen" (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XXI, p. 41). μαυλίς: Skt. *māuli-s*, "Spitze, Gipfel, Kopf," ON. *múle*, "Felsspitze, Maul, Schnauze" (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 33). μίτος, μίτρα: Skt. *mitrá-s*, "Freund," etc. (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XXI, p. 40). μῦθος: Goth. *maudjan*, "erinnern" (*ibid.* XV, p. 96). οἶτος: Skt. *íti-s*, "Plage, Not," OE. *ādl*, "disease," *ídel*, "empty, desolate, destitute, vain," etc. (*ibid.* XVII, p. 6). ὀμφαλός, Lat. *umbo*, etc.: ON. *nef*, "Nasenbein, Nase" (*ibid.* XVIII, p. 16; *I.F.* XVIII, p. 33). ὄρος, ὄρϝος: Lat. *servo*, Goth. *sarwa*, "Rüstung," ON. *sǫrue*, "Halsband," etc. (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 325). παῦρος (παύομαι, "cease, leave off from, refrain from"): Goth. *gafaurs*, "enthaltsam, gesittet," *unfaurs*, "unrestrained, geschwätzig" (*Jour. of Germ. Phil.* I, p. 466; *Mod. Lang. Notes* XVI, p. 310). πνέω: OE. *fnēosan*, "sneeze," etc. (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 312). πῡγή: Skt. *pūga-s*, "Haufe, Menge," *puñja-s*, "Haufe, Klumpen," etc. (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 29). πυκνός: Goth. *fauhō*, "Fuchs" (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 319). ῥαδινός (Aeol. βραδινός), ῥοδανός: Goth. *wratōn*, "wandern," Skt. *vradatē*, "wird weich," base *u̯rod-*, "turn, roll, swing, etc." (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XVI, p. 308). ῥέμβω: MLG. *wrimpen*, "das Gesicht verziehen, rümpfen," *wrempich*, "verdreht": NE. *warp*, "werfen, krum ziehen; sich biegen," Goth. *wairpan*, "torquere, werfen," Lith. *verbiù*, "wende um," etc. (*I.F.* XVIII, pp. 13 f.). ῥικνός, ῥοικός: NE. *wry*, "crooked," ME. *wrie*, "twist," OE. *wrigian*, "strive, tend toward," *wrēon*, OHG. *-rîhan*, "wrap, cover" (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 332 [1899], read before the Mod. Lang. Assoc., Dec. 1898; cf. Lidén *Ein baltisch-slav. Anlautgesetz*, 5). ῥῖπος, ῥίπτω: OHG. *(w)rîban*, "reibend wenden oder drehen, reiben," etc. (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 331). L. Russ. *ripity*, "knirschen," which Uhlenbeck, *P.B.B.* XXVI, p. 306, compares with *reiben*, brings us to a different group of meanings. Cf. rather ON. *rífa*, "brechen," Gk. ἐρείπω, etc. ῥάκος: Goth. *wrōhjan*, "anklagen," etc. (*Jour. of Germ. Phil.* II, p. 231). Cf. λάκις above. ῥαμφός: ON. *ramba*, "schwanken' (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 13). σβέννυμι: ON. *kuasa*, "ermatten" (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XVII, p. 9). σίνομαι: OE. *þwînan*, "dwindle, fall away" (*A.J.P.* XXI, p. 180). σκάζω: Dan. *skank*, "lahm," ON. *skakkr*, "hinkend, schief," OE. *scacan*, "shake," etc. (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 27). σκορπίζω: Sw. *skrefva*, "die Beine spreizen," ON. *skrefa*, "stride" (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 9).

σμίλη: Lith. *smailùs*, "spitz; naschhaft" (*A.J.P.* XXI, p. 181). σμερδνός: Lith. *smìrdéti*, "stinken" (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 320). σπαρνός: OHG. *spar* (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XIX, p. 1). σπεύδω: Lith. *spáudžiu*, "drücke" (*A.J.P.* XXI, p. 181). So explained later by Fick *B.B.* XXIX, pp. 197 f. στέγω: ON. *stakkr*, "stack," MHG. (*ver*)*stecken* = Skt. *sthagayati*, "hemmt, verbirgt" (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XX, p. 44). σῶκος: OE. *þyhtig*, "strong," Lith. *táukas*, "Fett," etc. (*A.J.P.* XX, p. 270). ταγγή: τέγγω (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 315). τατός: OE. *þindan*, "swell" (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XIX, p. 1). On τέρπω and its cognates see *Mod. Lang. Notes* XX, pp. 102 ff.). τιλάω: OE. *þīnan*, "become moist," Ir. *tinaid*, "verschwindet," ChSl. *tajati*, "schmelzen, vergehen," etc. (*A.J.P.* XXI, p. 180). τίλλω: Skt. *tilá-s*, "Stückchen, Körnchen," etc. (*ibid.*). τρά-πεζα from **tur-pediā*, "having crossed feet": σαρά-πους, "one that has turned-out feet," OHG. *dweran*, "drehen," etc. (*ibid.* XX, p. 266) τράπηξ: ON, *þrafne*, "beam" (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XX, p. 42). τρῦπάω: Pruss. *trupis*. "Klotz," OS. *thrûfla*, "Kelle" (*ibid.*). τρύω: OE. *þrēan*, "oppress, afflict, threaten," OHG. *drouwen*, "drohen" (*ibid.* XVI, p. 26). τύκος: OHG. *dûhen*, "drücken, schieben; keltern," etc. (*A.J.P.* XX, p. 270). τύλος: OE. *þol*, "thole, oar-peg," etc. (*ibid.*, p. 267). ὕλη: OHG. *sûl*, "Säule," *swella*, "Schwelle" (*ibid.* XXI, p. 181). ὕμνος: Skt. *sumná-m*, "Huld, Gunst, Gebet, Lied" (*ibid.*). φλυδάω: ON. *blautr*, "wet, moist, soft," NE. *bloat* (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XV, p. 328). φῦλον: ON. *bolr*, "Stamm," Goth. *ufbauljan*, "aufschwellen machen," etc. (*ibid.* XIX, p. 4). χανδάνω: Lith. *gôdas*, "Habgier; Klette," etc. (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XV, p. 95). χραίνω: MHG. *grinnen*, "knirschen" (*Mod. Phil.* I, p. 235). χραύω: Ir. *gro*, "Gries," OHG. *grāo*, "grau," i. e., "streaked, gestreift" (*ibid.* p. 241). χρίμπτω: Lith. *grypiu*, "zwicke," MHG. *greibe*, "herb," OE. *grǣfa*, "bramble, grove" (*ibid.*). χρῖμα, χρίω: Dan. *grime*, "Strich, Streifen," NE. *grime*, OS. *grîs*, "grau, greis;" Ir. *grían*, "grober Sand;" Skt. *hrēṣati*, "wiehert," OHG. *grīnan*, "knurren, winseln," etc. (*ibid.*, pp. 239 f.). χρώζω: OE. *grētan*, "touch, handle; visit, treat; address, greet," OHG. *gruozen*, "antreiben; angreifen; anreden, grüssen," Lith. *grōdžia*, "poltert," etc. (*ibid.*, p. 237).

For the explanation of many other Gk. words see my *Color-Names and their Congeners*, Halle, 1902, and *Indo-European aˣ: aˣi: aˣu*, Strassburg, 1905.

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Römische Bleitesserae. Ein Beitrag zur Sozial- und Wirt-
 schaftsgeschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit. Von M.
 ROSTOWZEW. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1905. Pp. 141.

Rostowzew had already published *Tesserarum urbis Romae et
suburbi plumbearum Sylloge* (Petersburg, 1903) and an Atlas with twelve
plates and a *Supplementum* with three plates. The present work in
German is a revision of the Russian treatise with some additions and
modifications. In it we have for the first time an adequate treatment of
the lead *tesserae*, based upon a careful examination of the specimens
found in numerous museums, with important conclusions as to the vari-
ous uses for which they were employed, and their significance. The
introduction deals with the use of the word *tessera* in various connec-
tions, as *tesserae hospitales, t. paganae, t. militares, t. gladiatoriae,*
etc. The designation *tesserae gladiatoriae* Rostowzew considers incor-
rect, and he follows Froehner in explaining *spectat num,* found on a
tessera from Arles as *spectat numen* and referring to the *incubatio* in a
temple of Aesculapius, e. g., on the island in the Tiber; cf. *CIL.* XII
5691. The name *tessera* was also applied to round objects of the shape of
coins, and these were not a Roman invention but borrowed from Greece.
Many of the stone molds in which such *tesserae* were cast have been
found. An important section deals with the *tesserae frumentariae* and
the whole subject of *frumentatio* as varying in practice at different
periods. The significance of the numbers inscribed, the various emblems,
as snake, scorpion, rabbit, snail, etc., and the legends as *Abundantia,
Bonus Eventus, Felicitas,* etc., is carefully discussed, with much that is
new and interesting. So, too, the *tesserae* connected with *ludi* receive
full treatment. Out of 400 types, only four are found to refer to the
theater, by far the greater number refer to the circus or amphitheater.
Chapter III deals with the *tesserae* of the city and municipal *iuventus;*
and historically is perhaps the most interesting of all, tracing the develop-
ment of the institution, from its beginning down to the third century,
and putting in a clear light its aims and political consequences. The
use of *tesserae* in various colleges or guilds, in connection with festivals
and trades, as bath-tickets, and as money-tokens in large private estab-
lishments is discussed with a painstaking array of evidence, and little
that bears upon the subject seems to have been overlooked. Modern
parallels are also cited. The use of lead and bronze tickets in traveling
by boat is also proved. Some of these have the letters CYD = cydarum,
a kind of boat mentioned by Gellius x. 25. 5, others CYD. AES. Com-
pare Horace *S.* i. 5. 13: *dum aes exigitur, dum mula ligatur, tota abit
hora.* An appendix at the end gives a list of the principal collections
and catalogues of *tesserae* arranged by countries. There are also two
plates giving forty-two specimen *tesserae* well executed. After what

has been said, it will be seen that the work is of more than usual impor-
tance and indispensable for those interested in the subject, as well as
valuable for collectors. The patience shown in the investigation of these
little objects, which have hitherto been too largely ignored, and the skill
exhibited in the attractive presentation of the results deserve all praise.

                                                    MINTON WARREN
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Sprachpsychologie und Sprachunterricht. Eine kritische Studie.
    Von FRIEDRICH BAUMANN. Halle: Niemeyer, 1905. Pp.
    142. M. 3.

This is a very sane and searching critical discussion of three recent
monographs dealing with the teaching of foreign (especially modern)
languages, viz., E. v. Sallwürk's *Fünf Kapitel vom Erlernen fremder
Sprachen* (Berlin, 1898), O. Ganzmann's *Über Sprach- und Sachvorstel-
lungen* (Berlin, 1902, in Ziegler and Ziehen's *Sammlung von Abhand-
lungen aus d. Gebiete der pädagogischen Psychologie und Physiologie*
IV. 6) and B. Eggert's *Der psychologische Zusammenhang in der Didaktik
des neusprachlichen Reformunterrichts* (Berlin, 1904, *ibid*. VII. 4).
Baumann warns against the exaggerated importance attached by many
adherents of the reform movement to the spoken language as contrasted
with the written and literary language. He contends that the main pur-
pose and aim of language teaching in the German higher schools is not
facility in the speaking of the foreign language or in the understanding
of it when spoken. Those who desire such facility can gain it either in
special classes (such as those provided by the Berlitz schools), or by resi-
dence in the foreign country, or by the employment of a governess. The
main goal of the teaching of a foreign (even a modern tongue) in the
Gymnasium, Realgymnasium, and schools of similar character is ability
to read the important and valuable literary works written in it. It is not
the conversational language of every-day life which is most important for
the student of such an institution but the literary language employed by
the standard writers. Rather than articulatory and acoustic the training
should be visual and graphic. Too little emphasis is now placed, accord-
ing to Baumann (p. 127), on the methodological value of written exercises
as a help toward memorizing. Considering, furthermore, 'Bildung' rather
than 'Fertigkeit' as the aim of the linguistic training of the German
schools he insists on the retention of grammatical drill. For while a
knowledge of grammar is not essential to one whose only object is facility
in the use of the colloquial speech it is indispensable for a penetration of
the structure of a foreign tongue, and an adequate comparison of the
foreign with the native language. In fact the difference between *eine
Sprache können* and *eine Sprache kennen* lies in this very point.

                                                    HANNS OERTEL

Euripides and the Spirit of His Dramas. By Paul Decharme. Translated by James Loeb. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1906. Pp. xxii + 392. $3.

Decharme's *Euripide et l'esprit de son théâtre* needs no introduction to scholars. But we must give a word of welcome to the excellent translation by which Mr. James Loeb, a pupil of Professor John Williams White, has made it available for the students of our colleges. In one respect Mr. Loeb's version is an improvement on the original: the citations from Euripides are given, not in that French prose into which Mr. George Moore would translate all poetry, but in the admirable poetical renderings of Mr. Arthur Way.

Professor White himself contributes by way of introduction a racy and spirited apology for Euripides, whom he exalts as the great Athenian liberal and an "interesting example of an unusual type, an elderly man with an open mind." Professor White does not venture to add that he was an artist—perhaps from fear of the question which the Devil asks in Kipling. But I am not going to reopen the case of Euripides vs. Aristophanes, which is summed up once for all in Jebb's *Lectures on Greek Poetry*. For I belong to the profane category of "professional scholars, teachers and all that sort" whom Professor White thinks incapable of doing justice to the poet's poet. He enlarges upon the influence which Euripides has exercised on the moderns. But that test would put Seneca above Aeschylus and Ovid above Lucretius. Moreover, the names on his list will not all bear scrutiny. There is precious little of "Byron's fiery spirit" in his schoolboy version of a chorus in the *Medea*. And when Professor White tells us that "this ancient poet" has influenced Swinburne, he discreetly omits to add that the influence sought expression in the following characteristic tribute: "The perfection of such shapeless and soulless abortions as the *Phoenissae* and the *Hercules Furens* is about as demonstrable as the lack of art which Ben Jonson regretted and condemned in the author of *Othello*."

Paul Shorey

Dio's Rome: An Historical Narrative Originally Composed in Greek and Now Presented in English Form. By Herbert Baldwin Foster. Vols. I to VI. Troy, N. Y.: Pafraets Book Co., 1905–6. $2 each volume.

German and French readers have had translations of Cassius Dio for a half-century or more. Now for the first time we have his entire work turned into English. It may after all be fortunate that the task has been postponed to the present time, because Boissevain's lately published edition of Dio furnishes us with a far better text than has been available

in the past. So far as the importance of the narrative and the excellence of the rendering are concerned, this translation takes its place by the side of White's *Appian* and Shuckburgh's *Polybius*. In magnitude, and perhaps in technical difficulty, it surpasses both the works just mentioned. The difficulties for the translator lay in the involved style of Dio and the complexity of his sentences. But these very difficulties have made an English rendering the more necessary, because they have frightened away the general reader and perhaps the average student of Roman history.

Fate has been not altogether unkind to Dio, because, although a large part of his work is lost, fragmentary, or preserved in an epitome only, the portion of his narrative which extends from 64 B. C. to 74 A. D. has come down to us. This is the part of his *History* of which we could least afford to be deprived, because it deals with the establishment of the empire, and bridges the chasm between Cicero, Caesar, and Appian on the one hand and Tacitus on the other.

The text followed in the main is that of Boissevain, as the translator indicates at Vol. I, p. xi. Vol. I contains the introductory matter and Zonaras' epitome of books i–xxi, with fragments of the earlier books. In Vols. II–IV are books xxxvi–lx, which are complete. Vol. V covers what is left of books lxi–lxxvii, for which we rely largely on Xiphilinus, and in Vol. VI are the last three books of the history, the fragments from books preceding No. 36, and a general index. The table of contents of the last volume includes a glossary of Latin terms, but for some reason it seems to have been omitted from the book itself. The first sixty-six pages of Vol. I deal with Dio and his *History*, and contain a bibliography. These preliminary chapters give a brief but admirable account of such matters as the MSS, the epitomes of Dio, and the characteristics of his narrative. The list of dissertations and articles comprises all the recent publications which are of any importance, and makes the work of value to the technical student as well as to the general reader. So far as the work of translation is concerned a careful comparison with the original of fifty or sixty pages of the English version, chosen at various points in the narrative, shows that Professor Foster has made a very accurate rendering of the *History* into smooth, idiomatic English. The only paragraph in which the reviewer failed to grasp the meaning occurs, strangely enough, in the Preface (p. xiii), where the translator is eloquently describing the intricacy of Dio's style. Now and then the Greek seems to show through its English dress, as in the phrase "members of the sedition" (II, p. 359), and occasionally a misprint occurs, e. g., "Cimbi" (II, p. 281) and "Pompeiians" (II, p. 287), but the fear which the writer expresses at I, p. xiv, that many errors have crept into his work seems to be groundless.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT

The Sources of the First Ten Books of Augustine's De civitate Dei. By S. ANGUS. Princeton dissertation. Princeton University Library, 1906. Pp. 278. $1.

The direct quotations from classical authors found in the *De civitate Dei* have already been pointed out in the edition of Dombart; but the mere collection of them in a conspectus, as has been done by Dr. Angus, serves to give a vivid impression of the extent of the reading of the great leader of the African church. The scope of the dissertation, however, is much wider than this. The aim has been to "search all the extant sources to which Augustine could have had access," and thus to determine his probable authorities. This task has been executed with great thoroughness, and, in the main, the conclusions drawn are convincing. For his survey of Roman history in the early books Augustine is shown to have used Florus and Eutropius, as well as Sallust and Livy. Perhaps the latter has not always received due credit. For example, the words in *De civ. Dei* iii. 19, *qui non tam narrare bella Romana quam Romanum imperium laudare instituerunt*, are just as appropriately used of Livy as of Florus; while the statement thus introduced (in connection with the second Punic War), *similior victo fuerit ille qui vicit*, may be regarded as a reminiscence of Livy xxi. 1. 2, just as the phrase two lines beyond, *Alpibus disruptis*, may possibly be an allusion to the story found in Livy xxi. 37.[1] The explanation given of Augustine's failure to make any mention of Tacitus is not satisfactory: "But Tacitus' work was not so well adapted to his purpose, as the gloomy pictures painted by Tacitus belong to times after the introduction of Christianity."

For the sketch of Roman religion, the chief sources are Cicero and Varro, and in the case of each of these authors Angus has pointed out a fragment previously unacknowledged. Of special interest is the discussion of Augustine's indebtedness to the Neoplatonists. The commentary is also valuable in its discussion of subjects lying outside the main theme of the dissertation, and to a large extent supplies the place of an annotated edition of the first ten books of the *De civitate Dei*. Naturally some additional parallels might have been included; e. g., the argument against the astrologers drawn from the case of twins in v. 2 is exactly that of Cicero in *De divinatione* ii. 43. 90. A few errors also occur. The authorship of the *Asclepius*, or *Dialogus Hermetis* (sic) *Trismegisti*, is incorrectly assigned to Apuleius, and on p. 201 there is a peculiar misinterpretation of Augustine's comment on the trial of Apuleius. The identification of Labeo, the writer on religious topics, with Labeo, the jurist of the Augustan age, is not at all certain, particularly in view of the use of *angelos* in the passage attributed to him in *De civ. Dei* ix. 19.

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[1] Augustine probably did not use the complete work of Livy, but the lost Epitome. See Sanders in *University of Michigan Studies* I, pp. 149–260.

The latter part of the dissertation discusses the extent of Augustine's knowledge of Greek, a matter of especial importance in connection with his use of the Neoplatonists as a source. By a careful examination of several of Augustine's works it is shown that he had a command of the Septuagint and the New Testament, so far as to distinguish delicate shades of meaning and to venture upon textual emendations. In view of his own conclusions, Angus hardly seems justified in denying the possibility of Augustine's having known Homer or Plato in the original so dogmatically as he has done in his study of the sources.

Mention should be made of the interesting chapter on the composition of the *De civitate Dei* by Professor West, at whose suggestion this study was undertaken and to whose inspiration Dr. Angus evidently owes much. The work is one that will be welcomed by students of Augustine for its abundant collection of material and the light thrown upon many interesting problems. For this reason, it is particularly unfortunate that the proofreading did not receive more careful attention

Edward A. Bechtel

University of Chicago

The Cynegeticus. By Henry Nevill Sanders. Johns Hopkins dissertation. Baltimore: privately printed, 1906 [1903]. Pp. 32.

The aim of Dr. Sanders is to throw light upon the problem of the authorship of the *Cynegeticus* "by trying to determine more nearly the date of publication from literary allusion and the locality from topographical consideration." In proof of knowledge of the *Cynegeticus* among writers of the fifth and fourth centuries he compares Simon with *Cyn.* iv. 1, Plato *Rep.* ii. 375 with ii. 3, Hypereides v. 18 with ix. 12, Euripides *Bacchae* 862 ff. with ix, and Demosthenes vi. 14 with xi. 3. As an example of these supposed parallels we may take the last. When Demosthenes spoke of Philip as τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων ὁπλιτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ληφθείς he had in mind the words used of big game in *Cyn.* xi. 3: ἀποκλεισθέντα μετὰ ἵππων καὶ ὅπλων ἁλίσκεται. Sanders believes that Xenophon drew part of his material from Macedonian sources, on the ground that some of the game could have been found only in the highlands, that a qualification of the keeper is ability to speak Greek, and that the objection to hounds which were χαροποί indicates a local prejudice, with Macedonia as the locality because the Macedonian for lion was χάρων. The thesis cannot be said to make any real contribution to the settlement of the problem discussed.

A. G. Laird

University of Wisconsin

Roman Private Law: Founded on the *Institutes* of Gaius and Justinian. By R. W. LEAGE. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1906. Pp. ix+429. $3.25.

Since the twelfth century, when Vacarius, the Italian glossator, was invited by Theobald, the archbishop of Canterbury, to deliver law lectures at Oxford, this university has been the chief seat of the academic study of the Roman civil law in England. It is true that writers of distinction, like Hallifax, Phillimore, Clark, and Roby, have appeared at Cambridge, and valuable contributions have been made to the study by Scottish civilians, like Mackenzie and Muirhead; still, the most important center of the study of the Roman law in Great Britain has remained at Oxford. During the last forty years there has been a marked revival of interest in this study in the English universities; and nowhere has this interest been more manifest than at this ancient seat of learning, as is shown, for example, in the scholarly commentaries of Poste, Sandars, and Moyle.

The author says that his book is an attempt to meet a want which he himself has felt for "some book which is content to give as simply as possible the subject-matter of the *Institutes* of Gaius and Justinian, following, in the main, the original order of treatment." The chief distinction of the book, however, consists not so much in following the order of the *Institutes* as in being a systematic treatise which presents in an unusually clear and analytical form the subject-matter of the institutional writings. The ordinary method pursued in systematic treatises has been to depart from the order of Gaius and Justinian, and to substitute an arrangement more or less in conformity to that adopted by the German writers. The German civilians have a plausible reason for adopting a new system in expounding the civil law, since their purpose has been (especially in their *Pandekten*) to explain, not the ancient Roman law of Justinian, but the modern Roman law in force in the German states. But such a reason does not exist in the academic study of the Roman law in the English universities. Mr. Leage is, therefore, entitled to the gratitude of English students for explaining the Roman law as the Roman jurists themselves understood it, without an attempt to recast it in accordance with a modern scheme.

The book is introduced by a discussion of the "sources of the law," giving a brief explanation of the nature of custom, statute law, the edicts of the magistrates, and the "responses" of the jurisconsults, closing with a description of the codification of Justinian, and with the plan of the *Institutes*. This introduction, while clear and in a certain sense comprehensive, must still be regarded as quite inadequate as a discussion of the historical development of the Roman law from the time of the *XII Tables* to the time of Justinian; and it, in fact, gives no hint of the historical relations of the Roman law to modern jurisprudence. By thus restrict-

ing the historical part to thirty or forty pages, the author seems to lose sight of one of the chief reasons which justify the preservation of the Roman law as a part of a modern educational curriculum.

The book is mainly devoted to an explanation of the principles of the law as set forth in the *Institutes*, supplying the deficiencies of the *Institutes* by an appeal to the *Digest*. This exposition shows the author to be a careful student and a faithful follower of the Roman system. The whole body of the law is divided, as Gaius divided it, into that which pertains either to persons, or to things, or to actions (*vel ad personas vel ad res vel ad actiones*). The discussion of these separate divisions is presented in such an analytical form as to make clear the fine distinctions of the law, without confusion or ambiguity. The system of notation which the author has adopted in his subdivisions of the subject will be found a great aid to the student in enabling him to perceive and to fix in his mind the logical relations of the various parts of the law. Although frequent use has evidently been made of the works of standard English writers, such as Sandars, Moyle, Roby, Muirhead, as well as Ledlie's translation of Sohm, there is a certain perspicuity in this book which is due to the author's own peculiar and original method of treatment. The very systematic arrangement of the material, and the frequent illustration of legal principles by concrete examples, give to his discussions an unusual distinctness and reality. While the author has in one or two instances (e. g., in treating of the effect of the "mancipatory" will, or the *testamentum per aes et libram*) expressed an opinion at variance with the chief authorities, he has usually presented the accepted views of the law; and has also wisely left to more recondite works the discussion of certain mooted questions, such as those which have arisen among commentators in connection with the law of "possession." When considered as a simple and systematic exposition of the elements of the Roman private law, both in their broad outline and in their most important details, this book possesses many valuable features and must be regarded as an acceptable addition to the literature of the subject.

WILLIAM C. MOREY

UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER

Tibulli aliorumque carminum libri tres. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit IOHANNES PERCIVAL POSTGATE. Oxonii: E typographeo Clarendoniano [1906]. $0.50.

This convenient little edition will at once take its place as the most useful text of Tibullus in the market. In pursuance of the plan of the Oxford series its tone is distinctly "conservative." Indeed, to those who have applauded the same editor's Propertius (London and Cambridge, 1894), with its flood of daring and often brilliant innovations, his present performance may not improbably suggest the painful comparison of

Pegasus harnessed to a dray. Critics of this way of thinking will appreciate the pathos of the following excerpt from the preface:

De caelo descendisse iam illud volgo videtur: *standum codicibus*. adiciunt prudentiores *modo si bonis* et *in re incerta*. ego vero, qui haud paullo audacior sum, *etiam pessimis* inquam, et *vel in re manifesta*.

But Professor Postgate has not carried audacity to the pitch of leaving the received text quite where he found it, and the compact little apparatus contributes a goodly number of suggestions for the guidance of those timid souls who find it easier to stomach the absurdities of the mediaeval scribes when they are seasoned with a dash of scholarly criticism. The selection of the conjectures to be printed is marked by the same good taste and penetration which stamp the editor's own contributions—characteristics which classical students have long been used to expect in work which comes from Dr. Postgate's pen.

B. O. Foster

Stanford University

Catalogus codicum Graecorum bibliothecae Ambrosianae. Digesserunt Aemidius Martini et Dominicus Bassi. Tomi duo. (Paginae 1161 praeter praefationem et indices locupletissimos.) Mediolani: impensis U. Hoepli. MCMVI. L. 50.

The catalogues of Greek manuscripts in Italian libraries, made and published by native scholars in recent years, are both numerous and excellent. In the first ten volumes of the *Studi Italiani* alone, sixteen scholars, following the admirable method of Vitelli and Piccolomini, have given exact descriptions of the Greek manuscripts in twenty libraries in sixteen different Italian towns. This work requires patience and industry as well as paleographical skill and large acquaintance with Greek literature, and it lays learned men everywhere under heavy obligations.

One of the accomplished editors of the two volumes now under review had executed single-handed, before the present task was begun and while he was still prefect of the Brera, the greater part of a similar task of such magnitude that it might well have deterred him from future labors of the same kind.[1] But he and his colleague, after twelve years' labor, have happily brought a still more important undertaking to successful completion, and the learned world now has at easy command a trustworthy account of the contents of the 1,098 Greek manuscripts, comprehending about 2,500 works, that constitute the chief treasure of the Ambrosian Library.

[1] E. Martini, *Catalogo di manoscritti Greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane: opera premiata dalla R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli,* Vols. I, II, pp. 430, 271 (1893, 1902).

.This collection is fourth in size among those in Italy, the land of Greek manuscripts; yet it was made very rapidly. Its founder, Cardinal Federigo Borromeo, a pious, learned, and far-sighted man, when he determined to establish this seat of learned studies in Milan, proceeded to the execution of his plan with a directness of purpose that seems modern. In order to increase and complete his collection, he committed the purchase of new manuscripts to three friends in particular. Gratius, who was instrumental in securing the 268 Pinelli manuscripts, thoroughly explored central and southern Italy; Salmatius went to the East, where he denuded monastery after monastery of its treasures; Olgiatus, who was subsequently appointed the first prefect of the library, departed into Germany and France. Other books were secured elsewhere, so that, when the library was formally opened in December, 1609, it contained nearly its present number of Greek manuscripts. Among its treasures was—and is— the famous Homer of the third century, that was first described by Mai and has recently been published in facsimile by Mon. Ceriani and Dr. Ratti.

For three hundred years there was no printed catalogue of this notable collection. When the good cardinal founded the library, he established also a Collegium Doctorum. Its members were to use the manuscripts and printed books that he had brought together for the promotion of learning, but were not permitted to publish catalogues of them. The purpose of this prohibition is not stated, but it may be inferred. As the editors of the present catalogue happily surmise, Borromeo may have dreamed of founding another Alexandria or Pergamum in northern Italy. Certainly his college has included famous scholars among its members. The editors, with proper pride, name Muratori and Mai—*chalcenteri ambo*. In consequence of this prohibition, learned men who were not able to resort to the library had only meagre means of ascertaining what it contained, and those that used it— and many came hither from different parts of the world—had at their command only unsatisfactory manuscript catalogues of the books.

It seems well to have waited even three centuries in order finally to secure so satisfactory a guide to the Greek treasures of the library as the present catalogue affords. The mode of description of the manuscripts adopted by its editors is a model of concise but complete statement. All library marks are given. The exact contents of each manuscript is recorded in minute detail. (Such a book as the important manuscript numbered 886—C 122 inf.— furnishes an excellent test of the editors' skill and care,—a great composite folio of 363 leaves, written by different hands in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, often hard to decipher because of the handwriting and the condition of the book.) No errors of scribes are corrected, but all are scrupulously indicated. Printed books that state the results of previous investigations are fully cited. In describing the external features of the manuscripts, the editors give not

only complete information as to material, form, size, condition, and age, but also all facts that contribute to our knowledge of the history of the books—names of former owners, place of purchase, year of acquisition, and the like. Their record of subscriptions is particularly satisfactory, and they are often able to identify with confidence an unnamed scribe.

Cardinal Borromeo founded his library in the heart of Milan. This has grown to be a great modern city, but even today one may pass in brief space of time from the gay life of the Piazza or the roar of the Via Torino to the quiet of a cloister and to the serene company of learned men. Here the bustle and tumult of the world are forgotten. Those who have studied here ever remember the charm and interest of the place, and they will hope for the speedy fulfilment of the promise of the editors some day to write the complete history of this great collection.

JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE

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Studien zum Commentator Cruquianus. Von JOHANN ENDT. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906. Pp. vii + 76. M. 3.

The object of these studies, a product, apparently, of the Horatian school of O. Keller, is to prove the worthlessness of the Commentator Cruquianus as a source of ancient tradition. The author shows by many examples that the Commentator in fact represents the interpretative activity of Cruquius himself, drawing from the scholia of various MSS, from other ancient sources, and even from earlier printed editions. This result does not differ from the characterization of the Commentator which is given by Teuffel-Schwabe 240. 3, with this difference: that Endt apparently denies that the Commentator contains even a residuum of valuable material which is not found elsewhere. The author has characterized the method of Cruquius with a thoroughness and wealth of illustration which is admirable and useful, but I do not see that his investigation proves his own contention that the commentary of Cruquius may be ignored by the editor of the Horatian scholia. To do this it would be necessary to point out the origins of all the matter which is apparently peculiar to the Commentator, and I do not see that this has been attempted. It is certain that Cruquius drew interpretative material from a MS or MSS no longer extant. That this material is identical with scholia found in existing MSS is a thesis conceivably demonstrable, but until such demonstration is made Horatian scholars may be pardoned for using, though with great reserve and caution, matter derived from the Commentator Cruquianus. To admonish such reserve, and to illustrate Cruquius' method of work, Endt's studies will be found very serviceable: it is the more to be regretted, therefore, that his presentation is singularly obscure and perplexing.

G. L. HENDRICKSON

Mutter Erde: Ein Versuch über Volksreligion.   Von Albrecht
   Dieterich. Leipzig: Teubner, 1905. Pp. vi+123. M. 3.20.

A generation or more ago the so-called comparative method in the
study of mythology and religion was at its height, but the extravagances
into which its devotees were led so discredited the procedure that many
scholars in the last twenty years have not without reason shown both
timidity and hostility toward anything that smacked of the comparative
method.   Yet the work of the anthropologist and ethnologist cannot be
disregarded by the student of religion, who often may be able to inter-
pret fragmentary data of religious custom or ritual among one people by
similar, although independent, phenomena found elsewhere. How fruit-
ful such studies can be when properly conducted is shown by this little
book by Dieterich, who is widely known for his studies in the religions
of Greece and Rome—a book which may well serve as a model of sane
investigation in its field.   The first two chapters had already appeared
in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* VIII (1905), pp. 1 ff.

Starting with three rites existent among the Romans, according to
which they placed the new-born babe on the ground, buried, rather than
burned, the bodies of infants, and removed the sick, when in extremis,
from his bed and laid him on the earth, Dieterich shows that similar
practices are attested, not only for European peoples, but for tribes in
the remotest part of the world.   He deals therefore with the mysteries
of birth, death, and a second birth from the common mother Earth.
That the earth was thought of as the source of life by the Athenians is
known to every reader of Greek classic literature.   After discussing this
belief, Dieterich shows that it likewise prevailed in other parts of Greece.
He then points out how in later antiquity this original concept of the
Earth-mother was brought into relation to Venus, Isis, and the Great
Mother of the Gods.   Chap. vi contains an interesting discussion of data
relating to magic rites the purpose of which was to secure the fertility
of the earth; and the final chapter in a few pages deals with the influence
of the pagan belief on Christianity.

In such studies as this, which must depend in large measure on the
combination of data often widely separate in source—data whose mean-
ing must frequently be divined—there is serious danger that the inves-
tigator may in spite of himself be betrayed into flights of fancy and led
to form baseless hypotheses. Dieterich, however, has successfully resisted
all such temptations; he everywhere proceeds from carefully observed
facts, and uses with caution analogies drawn from varied peoples, with
the result that his investigation is both stimulating and fruitful.

                                    Clifford Herschel Moore
   Harvard University